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Defense Minister Comments on Vienna Arms Talks

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[Text] Moscow, 11 Mar (TASS)—"The Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact states have done everything for the Vienna talks to become reality," Army General Dmitriy Yazov, USSR minister of defense, has stated.

The minister remarked in an interview to TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy that "talks are currently under way in Vienna on measures to strengthen confidence and security in Europe, in which 33 European states, the United States, and Canada are participating. There, too, the 23 states comprising the Warsaw Pact and NATO have begun talks on conventional armed forces and armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals. The simultaneous beginning of these talks bears a far from formal nature. Their linkage offers an opportunity to advance to lasting security in Europe on a broader front, combining limitations and reductions in armed forces and armaments with greater openness in military activity under strict verification [kontrol]."

Dmitriy Yazov stressed that a strong impetus had been given to the Vienna talks by the decisions of the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact countries to make large-scale unilateral reductions in their armed forces and armaments. It is logical to expect countersteps by the West toward meeting us halfway in those types of armaments where NATO has advantages, he noted.

"We believe, in addition," he continued, "that the start of the Vienna talks will act as a catalyst in the overall disarmament process—both in achieving an agreement on a 50-percent reduction of the USSR and U.S. strategic offensive armaments and in concluding a convention on the banning and elimination of chemical weapons. What also lies ahead is to draw tactical nuclear weapons and naval forces into this process and to extend confidence-building and security measures not only to land forces but also naval forces, and also the independent operations of air forces."

"The USSR's approach to questions of parity," Dmitriy Yazov said, "is based on principles of realism and a balance of interests, and is filled with a sincere interest in making universal peace and the security of the peoples lasting. In connection with this, displaying goodwill, restraint, and firmness, and at the same time conforming to the requirements of our defense doctrine and the principle of reasonable sufficiency, we are conducting the construction and preparation of our armed forces and are maintaining their combat readiness at the necessary level."

The USSR defense minister said the Soviet armed forces in contemporary conditions are one of the most significant really active factors for not permitting war and for preserving peace and guaranteeing international security. "They are a bulwark for the peaceful labor of the Soviet people. The party and people have placed on them the main responsibility for maintaining the defense capacity of the country at a level of reasonable and reliable sufficiency, so that nobody is tempted to encroach on the security of the USSR and its allies," Dmitriy Yazov said.

Moiseyev Writes on Defensive Military Doctrine

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[Article by Army General M. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister: "Soviet Military Doctrine: Realization of its Defensive Thrust"]

[Text] More than 3 months have passed since the speech by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at the 43d UN General Assembly Session. The Soviet leader's speech is still arousing enormous interest in the world. And that is only natural, because it raises fundamental questions of the further development of the world community and sets forth the Soviet Union's philosophical approach and practical position, which set the task of radically improving the international situation. Bold solutions were put forward, mobilizing mankind to act in the name of peace, to prevent war, stop the arms race, and turn away from the principle of superarming to the principle of reasonable sufficiency for defense.

This is not the first time the USSR has put forward proposals on disarmament. We have repeatedly backed up our proposals with unilateral actions. Examples are the 18-month moratorium on nuclear weapons tests, the freeze on work on antisatellite weapons and certain other weapons systems, and the giving of a purely defensive thrust to military doctrine and the publication of that doctrine.

Given that the West managed to label even the nuclear moratorium "propaganda," it is not hard to imagine the efforts made by certain NATO individuals and circles to arouse distrust in the new Soviet military doctrine and put a false interpretation on its content. M.S. Gorbachev's speech from the UN platform, in which the amended Soviet doctrine is presented as an integral part of the system of the new political thinking, convincingly demonstrated unity of word and deed and the USSR's desire and readiness to promote in every way the strengthening of a peaceful period in mankind's development. Let us look at the facts.

I.

The main political principles of Soviet military doctrine are oriented toward eliminating war from mankind's life and strengthening international stability and security.

This is reflected in the Soviet Union's pledges—never, under any circumstances, to commence hostilities against any state whatever unless we ourselves are subjected to aggression; never, under any circumstances, to be the first to use nuclear weapons. "War will not come from the Soviet Union," M.S. Gorbachev stresses, "we will never start a war." The USSR has no territorial claims on anyone and does not regard any state or any people as its enemy.

These provisions are enshrined in official documents and permeate our foreign policy. They also determine the content and thrust of Soviet military doctrine, the tasks of the state and the Soviet Armed Forces, the nature of military building, and our decisions and actions in the cause of the country's defense.

Representatives of the West, for various reasons, prefer to ignore the fundamental influence of the new political ideas on the formation of Soviet military thinking and practice. The view can often be heard that the USSR's political commitments are only words that have no effect on its military strategy, which, our opponents assert, retains its offensive character. In their opinion, the political and military-technical aspects of Soviet military doctrine are mutually contradictory.

What do the facts indicate? The political and military-technical aspects of present-day Soviet military doctrine have a single thrust—a defensive thrust, and the military-technical aspect is subordinate to the political. The prevention of war is the supreme goal, the nucleus of the doctrine, the basic function of the Soviet state and its Armed Forces. This is the first time that the task of preventing war has been formulated in doctrine as a matter of principle.

Naturally, even before, the struggle against war was one of the most important components of the Soviet Union's foreign policy activity. But all the same, never before has such emphasis been placed on the prevention of war and the exclusion of the component of strength from relations between states as now.

Why has this happened? First and foremost, because in the nuclear age war cannot resolve problems—political, economic, ideological, or any other kind. War has only one outcome—worldwide catastrophe. "It has now become supremely clear to everyone," M.S. Gorbachev noted in a statement on Soviet television in August 1986, "that the old ideas of war as a means of achieving political goals have outlived their day. In the nuclear age these obsolete dogmas nurture a policy that could lead to universal conflagration."

The course of prevention of war on the basis of the balance of state interests is the only reasonable alternative and is, to judge by the initial results, productive. The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles came into force, and some 40 percent of Soviet and American missiles have already been eliminated. The unpredictability of the situation arising from the short flight time of the "Pershing II" and RSD-10 missiles has lessened. Other talks processes on disarmament topics are becoming more meaningful, which makes it possible to expect progress and a general lessening of military tension.

Unlike the imperialist states, we conceal neither the political nor the military-technical principles of our military doctrine. Furthermore, we consider it important to explain its provisions as widely as possible both to the public and to specialists. The USSR has repeatedly proposed to the United States and its NATO allies that we compare military views, do away with the existing anxieties and suspicion, and achieve a better understanding of each other's intentions. The West has thus far avoided accepting our proposal, although in direct contacts political and military leaders of the United States and the USSR more and more often touch on various questions which were considered sacrosanct only yesterday.

The first condition of mutual understanding was and is the presence of the desire to understand things as they are and not try to attribute to the other side intentions that are alien to it. The U.S. defense secretary's report to the U.S. Congress on the military budget for fiscal 1988-1989 states that Soviet military doctrine basically remains offensive. Although, the report's authors observe, some changes can be observed, these allegedly are prompted by the firmness of the West's position and the strength of its pressure, and also by domestic socioeconomic difficulties in the Soviet Union itself. The conclusion arises logically from the premise: It is necessary to step up the pressure on the USSR.

Let us not go into the ideology of the report, which is permeated with anticommunism and the a priori rejection of the peace-loving nature of the Leninist foreign policy. Let us reaffirm, as a reality that we have never concealed, our commitment to creating favorable external conditions for the Soviet people's creative labor and transferring resources, as far as the situation permits, from the military sphere to the resolution of socioeconomic problems. Let us think about something else—the Pentagon report preaches nothing less than a course of massive pressure on the USSR, the attempt to exhaust it in the vicious circle of the arms race and confrontation. They provoke us in every way to engage in a rivalry of strength, and then they talk about Soviet "superarming."

The implementation of the new tenets of Soviet military doctrine is most clearly manifested in the nature of the defensive measures we are carrying out, operational and strategic plans, and military-technical policy, and also in military building and the training of the Armed Forces.

The military-technical aspect of the doctrine deals with at least four groups of questions—the evaluation of the nature of the military threat to the USSR and its allies, the composition of armed forces necessary to rebuff aggression, what to train them for, and how to use them. Here our approaches have now been substantially clarified.

THIS APPLIES, IN PARTICULAR, TO THE EVALUATION OF THE MILITARY THREAT TO THE USSR. It is well-known that the USSR and the United States, as well as the Warsaw Pact and NATO, resolutely deny that the threat of war could originate with them. At the same time, official U.S. and NATO spokesmen constantly declare that they regard the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact states as their military adversary, that one can deal with the socialist countries only from a position of strength, and that that is what they are in fact doing.

What can we do? How can we react, for instance, to bellicose statements backed up by programs for the creation of weapons systems designed to carry out a first strike? Obviously we have to take account of this in our practical activity. The reality is that the two military-political alliances have created an enormous mutual threat that is exacerbated by the West's military-political actions, and also by the probability of the accidental, unintentional outbreak of war. That is a serious burden on the atmosphere in Europe and the international situation in general.

The hundreds of American military bases located around the Soviet Union, carrier battle groups, carrier-borne aircraft,and U.S. naval forces, which have substantial superiority over the Soviet Navy, cause us constant concern. An ever increasing danger is posed by the sea-launched cruise missiles which the United States refuses to limit, and also by the development of air-launched cruise missiles using "Stealth" technology, which are unequivocally a first-strike weapon. How can all these be regarded as peaceful efforts?

We take these and other facts into account. They cannot be ignored. The USSR persistently advocates trying to understand one another and gradually eliminating the mutual threat. The military threat is the main source of distrust. While it exists, suspicion will persist, which in turn leads to instability, nervousness, and the desire not to lag behind, but to meet the challenge with equivalent force or, still worse, acquire unilateral military advantages in the illusory hope of inflicting a defeat on the adversary while remaining unscathed.

There is no way to put an end to this except through joint efforts by the sides, especially in achieving progress in the talks process on disarmament problems.

WHAT PROBABLE AGGRESSION ARE THE SOVIET ARMED FORCES PREPARING TO REBUFF? On this question we also have to reckon with the other side's concrete actions. NATO military doctrine, despite public assurances of its "defensive" nature, presupposed and continues to presuppose the use of nuclear weapons with a view to exercising a threat, conducting combat operations, and securing victory in a nuclear war.

All U.S. plans are based on conducting military operations on someone else's territory, and allow for preemptive strikes "on suspicion," and massive strikes, at that, in order to suppress resistance "in the initial stage of a war." The armed forces of the United States and its allies are trained and equipped accordingly.

It is patently illogical. While officially recognizing that nuclear war will lead to catastrophe and must not happen, the United States goes further and further in adapting nuclear weapons for tasks in the battlefield, in the theater of war, and on a global scale. While declaring that there can be no winner in a nuclear war, it not only refuses to outlaw nuclear weapons or at least pledge not to use them first, it actually seeks technical means and develops methods designed to make the use of these weapons acceptable to itself in certain conditions. We cannot close our eyes to this, however far removed from reality such constructions may be.

Given a minimum of political will on the part of the West and readiness to collaborate, it is entirely possible, in our view, without delay to arrive at defense models that virtually preclude the deliberate unleashing of war and the development of a chance incident into a large-scale conflict. An initial and in every respect overdue step in this direction would be the adoption of joint pledges not to be the first to use nuclear or conventional arms, pledges backed up by reliable guarantees.

With a view to preventing the sudden unleashing of war in Europe, we propose that the Warsaw Pact and NATO armed forces groupings be reduced in such a way that they lose their offensive potential; that a nuclear-free corridor be created along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, as well as zones of reduced arms concentration in Europe; that a European center for lessening the danger of war and preventing a surprise attack be set up; and that a system of preliminary notification be introduced not only for ICBM and SLBM launches, but also for strategic and tactical aircraft taking off en masse. This last is particularly important given that all wars since the forties, for instance, have begun with a massive air attack.

It is clear that the adoption of this concept as a basis would entail a drastic change in the entire system of combat training of armed forces and completely reformulate the question of "probable aggression" and the "potential enemy." These consequences do not worry us. We are prepared to give a new quality to our armed forces.

THE NEW APPROACH IS ALREADY REFLECTED IN THE RESOLUTION OF QUESTIONS OF DEFINING THE COMPOSITION OF THE ARMED FORCES AND THEIR STRUCTURE AND SOVIET MILITARY

BUILDING IN GENERAL. In the course of the structural reorganization of the Armed Forces now in progress, the fundamental orientation of military doctrine toward giving them a more defensive thrust and developing them on the basis of reasonable defense sufficiency is being put into practice.

In practical terms, the principle of defense sufficiency means, in our view, giving the Armed Forces a nonoffensive structure; limiting strike systems in the overall composition of the Armed Forces as far as possible; changing dispositions with a view to fulfilling strictly defensive tasks; and lowering the parameters of mobilization deployment of the Armed Forces, and also the volume of military production. These are not simply suggestions for the future. Some measures that can be adopted unilaterally without detriment to defense are already being implemented. Not at a stroke, of course, because restructuring takes time and requires careful analysis of external circumstances.

Without expecting steps in response from the West, the Soviet Union, in contact with its allies, has taken a number of major steps that give its military doctrine clearly identifiable defensive features.

In the course of 1988-1989 the USSR Armed Forces will be cut by 500,000 men (12 percent of the total). In terms of Europe, Soviet troops are to be cut in the GDR, the CSSR, Hungary, and Poland and in the European part of the country—a total of 240,000 men, 10,000 tanks, 8,500 artillery systems, and 820 combat aircraft. Of the 10,000 tanks, 5,000 will be physically eliminated and the remainder will be converted into traction vehicles for civilian needs and training vehicles. The military budget will decline by 14.2 percent and production of arms and military equipment will be cut by 19.5 percent. This is a bold decision in step with the times, whereas in NATO the ideas of the new military thinking are as yet finding it hard to come through.

In addition to the large-scale reduction of the Armed Forces, their structure is also changing. In particular, the number of combined-arms divisions is being cut. The correlations between offensive and defensive systems are being revised, and troop and naval force groupings are being streamlined.

The Soviet Union will withdraw from the GDR, the CSSR, and Hungary six tank divisions, which will be disbanded. The combined-arms divisions remaining on our allies' territory are being remodeled into a defensive structure, and a large number of tanks are being taken away from them (motorized infantry divisions are losing 40 percent and tank divisions, 20 percent). In total, 5,300 modern tanks are being withdrawn from the groups of Soviet troops. In the zone of immediate contact between the Warsaw Pact Organization and NATO a proportion of strike aircraft are to be relocated, as are assault-landing, assault-crossing, and other subunits, together with arms and combat equipment. The arms being withdrawn from central Europe also include tactical nuclear systems. Here the Soviet Union is not carrying out modernization of tactical nuclear missiles or replacing obsolete systems with SS-21 missiles (in NATO terminology).

In line with the Warsaw Pact's defensive military doctrine our allies are also substantially reducing their armed forces, making structural changes to them, and reducing military expenditure. In the context of all these changes even the most inveterate apologists of strong-arm views in the West have been forced to acknowledge that the situation is developing in such a way that NATO will find it hard to stick to its previous militarist positions.

The Soviet people ask: Why did we start cutting our armed forces first, without waiting for international negotiations to bear common fruit? The USSR and other Warsaw Pact countries considered it possible and necessary to prove in practice the sincerity of their constructive intentions. Consideration was given to the peoples' persistent desire to ease the military confrontation in Europe, reduce the level of military tension, and impart the requisite dynamics to the process of curtailing the arms race. At the same time we have graphically demonstrated the seriousness of our intentions to build our defense guided by the totality of the national interests of the USSR and its friends and to not allow ourselves to be dragged into the vortex of the arms race.

The decisions adopted by us are based on comprehensively considered assessments of the military-political situation which has emerged and on the actual correlation of military factors. They embody the precise demands of the 19th All-Union Party Conference on orienting Soviet military building toward quality parameters.

In accordance with the new Soviet doctrine many of our military-technical programs are being revised. The production plan for arms and equipment has been cut while simultaneously improving their combat and operational reliability. Systems are being developed [sozdayutsya] which will ensure the resolution of the prescribed tasks with a smaller number of combat systems.

In military science and design bureaus many long-term technical development projects linked with the utilization of offensive arms systems have been dropped from plans. At the same time, priority areas promising an increase in effectiveness in repulsing aggression have been singled out. The organization of scientific research is being rationalized, and the time taken for scientific findings to be introduced into military practice is being cut.

SUBSTANTIAL CHANGES ARE BEING MADE TO THE THRUST OF THE ARMED FORCES' OPERATIONAL AND COMBAT TRAINING. On the basis of the experience of the World War, offense was regarded as the main mode of military action. Until the recent past, repulsing aggression using both defensive and offensive actions was accepted as the optimum option. Today, in the event of an attack on us, defensive operations will be the Soviet Armed Forces' main form of action at the beginning of the war. In training our Armed Forces, defense on a strategic, operational, and tactical scale has been moved to the fore. This, of course, does not mean behaving passively or handing the initiative wholly to the aggressor. If he attacks he must be not only stopped but brought to his senses.

From these standpoints troop and naval force training has been honed and all fundamental documents, including rules of combat, are being revised. The Western countries know that, guided by our defensive doctrine, we have substantially cut the number of large-scale exercises and maneuvers and are also displaying restraint in our daily military activity.

However, we have a considerable number of concerns about the actions of the United States and NATO. Many American and NATO exercises ("Autumn Forge," "Team Spirit," and so forth) have assumed such a scale that you would think the world was on the brink of war. Exercises of this kind are dangerous if only because they are not always able to be categorized unambiguously. Much effort has to be expended to distinguish them from the actual deployment of NATO armed forces for war. We are also concerned that U.S. and Canadian territory and all military activity on that territory is not covered by confidence-building and verification [kontrol] measures. The United States and other NATO countries use the most diverse pretexts to avoid discussing the problems of limiting and reducing naval forces and their arms.

II.

In examining the Soviet Union's practical actions to put its defensive military doctrine into effect it is reasonable to ask: What is the situation in this respect in the West?

The NATO countries traditionally portray their "flexible response" doctrine as defensive. However, the facts prompt profound dubiousness; facts not only from the past, but also from the actual present.

Official U.S. and NATO spokesmen talk a great deal about the impossibility of winning a nuclear war. Nevertheless, all military building is conducted on the principle "if a war cannot be contained it must be waged and concluded on terms which are favorable for the West." The United States on the one hand officially proclaims a counterstrike strategy, but on the other makes provision in real military operation plans and arms programs for the constant possibility of launching a preemptive "disarming" strike against the USSR. In general, NATO's "flexible response" doctrine is based on the utilization of armed forces throughout the full depth of defense with the first use of nuclear weapons.

While acknowledging that nuclear war is inadmissible, the leaders of NATO countries assert in the same breath that they see no alternative to the concept of "nuclear deterrence" and nuclear weapons themselves. Thus, the condemnation of nuclear war in the West's political lexicon and military doctrines is nothing more than a declaration to placate the public. It did not and does not play any restraining role in NATO military activity.

Nobody has proved, nor can they prove, that a third world war would have definitely broken out had there not been nuclear weapons. Another proposition looks more logical: Had there not been nuclear weapons, mankind, including the population of Europe, would not have found itself on the brink of disaster at certain moments. And there have been such moments. Had there not been nuclear weapons there would have been a much greater chance of implementing the provisions of the UN Charter relating to the creation of a collective security system. As a result, peace would be much stronger than it is today.

Recently U.S. and NATO leaders have frequently stated that their military doctrines are geared to preventing war. How? By...preserving and building up powerful strategic offensive arms, deploying sea- and air-launched cruise missiles on a massive scale, developing [sozdaniye] new combat systems based on the latest technologies, and attempting to cram an even greater quantity of nuclear weapons into Europe? All this allegedly serves the preservation of peace and military stability, on the principle that if you want peace, prepare for war.

Let's take the plans for the modernization of NATO tactical nuclear weapons, for example. If you discard the verbal dross, you cannot fail to observe that the North Atlantic alliance is nurturing another variant of arms upgrading. It envisages:

—the development [sozdaniye] and siting in Europe (primarily the FRG) of a qualitatively new nuclear missile with a range of up to 500 km instead of the Lance missile (with a range of 130 km);

—the siting on British territory of around 50 nuclear-armed U.S. aircraft (primarily FB-111A's) in addition to the 140-plus F-111 fighter-bombers already stationed there;

—the development [sozdaniye] of a new air-to-surface nuclear missile with a range in excess of 400 km to be fitted to tactical strike aircraft. The United States and Britain are participating in the development [razrabotka] of this missile;

—the further improvement of the current SRAM (air-to-surface) missile. The new SRAM will substantially increase aircraft combat range without having to enter the enemy's air defense zone. It is envisaged that American strike aircraft and also Tornado fighter-bombers will be fitted with this missile as of 1995;

—the retargeting of some Tomahawk sea-launched American cruise missiles (approximately 100) in the interests of meeting the tasks set by NATO Supreme Command, Europe;

—the completion in 1989 of the replacement of nuclear ammunition for 203.2 mm guns and the inauguration in 1990 of the production of nuclear shells for 155 mm howitzers.

The pernicious consequences of such "modernization" are obvious. First, under the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles the USSR is completely eliminating missiles with a range of up to 1,000 km (OTR-22's) and modern missiles with a range of up to 500 km (OTR-23's). The United States and its allies are well aware of this. The question is: On what basis does NATO intend to deploy missiles with a range of up to 500 km similar to those which the Soviet Union is eliminating?

Second, all the modernization measures do not conform to the spirit of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, since a large-scale buildup of nuclear weapons is planned rather than a reduction. The result is a paradox. The Warsaw Pact countries are reducing their armed forces in Europe by more than 300,000 men, while the NATO countries intend to upgrade their arms and increase their nuclear potential.

In an attempt to somehow force through the "modernization" plans, some figures in the West go to absurd lengths, justifying it as "defensive actions," and contrive to interpret the Soviet leadership's decision to reduce the Armed Forces by 500,000 men as a "threat to the security" of the West. No more and no less....

The ability to call things by their proper name is still manifestly in short supply in the North Atlantic alliance. People there are not prepared to state outright why they need qualitatively new missiles which are three or four times superior to the Lance in terms of range and power and why NATO's nuclear potential in Europe is being built up. They are reluctant to explain to their peoples why "modernization" is required when a substantial reduction in conventional arms is absolutely achievable in a short space of time. There are no rational arguments to be heard against immediately starting separate talks on reducing and eliminating tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, as the Warsaw Pact countries propose. A petulant "no" is no argument; nor, of course, is it a method for increasing trust.

As a military man I cannot avoid singling out yet another fact. All rules of combat, instruction manuals, and fundamental documents relating to the building of the U.S. and NATO armed forces are geared toward a nuclear and offensive war against the USSR and the other socialist countries. It would be nice to know when the rules and other instructions which govern Western armed forces' life and operations will be brought into line with the political statements made by the leaders of the United States and other NATO countries concerning their defensive aspirations. Words must be followed by actions—this demand, which the Soviet side is carrying out, is equally applicable to the West.

Talks on conventional armed forces in Europe and also talks on confidence- and security-building measures in Europe began 6 March 1989 in accordance with the final document and mandate formulated in Vienna. The Warsaw Pact countries advocate the elimination of imbalances and asymmetries on a mutual basis, deep cuts in armed forces, and the further development of confidence-building and security measures.

The Soviet Union's persistent struggle for peace and disarmament and practical actions in implementing a defensive military doctrine are evidence of confidence that common sense will make headway in international affairs. We have sufficient potential and determination to ensure that nobody can talk to us from a position of strength. This has been proven in the past more than once.

Under the conditions of the reduction of the Armed Forces and the military budget we are doing everything necessary for the guaranteed safeguarding of the security of the country and our allies. The defensive nature of Soviet military doctrine does not reduce but, on the contrary, makes higher demands of the combat readiness of the Army and Navy and their ability to repulse any aggression and reliably defend our socialist homeland.

The Soviet people can be confident that their peaceful life is safeguarded, reliably safeguarded.

Karpov Criticizes NATO Plans To Modernize Weapons

LD1003213989 Moscow World Service in English
1810 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] [Announcer] Talks are under way in Vienna on conventional forces, confidence-building, and security in Europe. The Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, on the opening day of negotiations on 6 March, outlined a three-stage reduction of forces to bring them down to levels sufficient for defense. A briefing in Moscow on the start of the talks involved Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Karpov and Major General Kukhlev of the Defense Ministry's General Staff.

It's been pointed out at the briefing that the Soviet Union expects the Vienna talks to embark on serious discussions of conventional cuts in Europe. That's why the Soviet delegation has laid down a new package for conventional arms cuts relating to the elimination of imbalances and asymmetries of various types of weapons, above all offensive arms, and providing for assigning a defense nature to the two alliances' armed forces. However, it followed from the Western press, even before the talks got under way, that our Western partners would have liked to discuss singularly the reduction of some types of weapons such as tanks, armored vehicles, and artillery. As that assumption materialized at the opening of the talks, Viktor Karpov, deputy foreign minister, explains:

[Begin Karpov recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] [words indistinct] we saw that NATO countries wanted to focus on the reduction of three types of mentioned weapons alone. As for cuts in troops numbers or structural reorganization of armed forces linked to those reductions, these haven't come into a discussion yet. We have had no clear answer to our question why these are being dismissed. So far NATO's position has indicated a desire for exchanging information on troop numbers alone, with emphasis on formations and units down to battalions comprising tanks, artillery, and armored vehicles [end recording].

[Announcer] The deputy foreign minister said NATO was regrettably going no farther than that. He said it was unclear how discussions could be held on cuts in weapons used for attacking and seizing foreign territories without discussions of the armed forces proper as if they were not involved in a seizure of territories.

Another question arising is, what is to be done with troops servicing the types of weapons to be scrapped. The deputy foreign minister said that was the reason why the Soviet Union believes that both weapons and troops must be reduced to rule out the possibility of offensive operations. That NATO plan to go ahead with the modernization of tactical nuclear weapons has not gone amiss with newsmen. Asked if that was likely to undermine the effort at ensuring European security, both Viktor Karpov and Major General Kukhlev said the existence of tactical nuclear weapons and plans to modernize them should not be shrugged off lightly. We believe, said the deputy foreign minister, that negotiations must be opened on those weapons along with the Vienna talks on conventional forces. He said that in the event of NATO's plan for modernizing that type of weapons getting under way, the prospect of reaching accords in Vienna would be largely hampered. The implementation of the plan would mean that cutbacks in conventional forces would go along with the strengthening of NATO's nuclear potential.

Viktor Karpov and Maj Gen Kukhlev have called on NATO countries to refrain from modernizing tactical nuclear weapons. They also said the allegations saying that the Soviet Union was modernizing its nuclear weapons were totally unsubstantiated. The deputy foreign minister made an official statement that his country was not modernizing its tactical nuclear weapons.

Baseline Data Debate Could Impede Vienna Talks

LD1003143789 Moscow TASS in English 1428 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 10 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Chernyshev:

Negotiators from Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries are scrutinising proposals made by both sides at the Vienna talks on conventional armed forces in Europe, which opened on Thursday.

It is especially important now to hammer out mutually acceptable principles and methods for conducting the negotiations and identify the more promising ways of achieving practical results as soon as possible.

Having been personally involved in talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe, which have dragged on for many years, I would like to voice the following considerations.

Since the reductions should lead to ever lower levels of arms and military personnel, efforts must concentrate on how low these levels should be.

Therefore, it would be more expedient to start with trying to define the final results rather than first clarifying baseline data on armed forces and armaments (although getting to know the real alignment of forces is certainly an important part of the talks) or defining cuts in troop strength and individual weapon classes.

After agreeing on what the final results should be, the sides can determine the actual reductions needed to bring them about.

By contrast, if they choose the old route, the debate on baseline data and troop and weapon counting methods can suspend progress of the negotiations indefinitely.

But the option of parallel discussions on baseline data, its verification and final results cannot be excluded either. Such simultaneous discussions would also save time.

The main thing is not to wait for a solution to the baseline data issue before starting to discuss the final results.

It is equally important to seek lower arms levels in all the weapon categories, without singling out some at the expense of the security of either side—the Warsaw Treaty or NATO.

The USSR and its allies consider it necessary at the first stage to deal with the problem of eliminating imbalances in such weapon classes as frontline (tactical) strike aircraft, tanks, combat helicopters, armoured infantry fighting vehicles and armoured personnel carriers, and artillery, including multiple rocket launch systems and mortars.

It is essential to achieve equal lower levels in these destabilising weapon classes as a matter of priority in order to give military doctrines a defensive posture in real terms, they believe.

But NATO countries suggested going no further than levelling arms levels in three weapon classes, namely tanks, artillery pieces and armoured personnel carriers. This would entail sharp and effectively unilateral cuts in the defensive capabilities of the Warsaw Treaty, while preserving, to a large extent, the armaments in which the North Atlantic bloc enjoys obvious superiority (in particular, strike aircraft and combat helicopters).

With this kind of selective approach, the NATO countries can hardly expect a positive response from the Warsaw Treaty countries.

The objective of not damaging the security of either side would be met only by eliminating imbalances and asymmetries in both the arms classes in which the Warsaw Treaty has an advantage and those where NATO is in the lead.

Finally, it is vital to agree on such verification arrangements as would ensure the possibility of checking baseline data and monitoring elimination procedures and remaining arms levels, giving every party full confidence that all commitments are being honoured.

Considering the experience of drafting and fulfilling the INF Treaty, there is every possibility of joint work on this kind of verification, including numerous compulsory on-site challenge inspections.

The common views of all the parties, recorded in the mandate for the talks, are a good basis for the search for solutions. The priority now is to broaden this common ground.

Only if there is good will on the part of both NATO and the Warsaw Treaty will it be possible to launch the process of scaling down military confrontation in Europe quickly.

Missile Inspection Team Completes Visit to Belgium

LD1103231189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1910 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] Brussels, 11 Mar (TASS)—Two groups of Soviet inspectors today completed their inspection of military installations in Belgium in accordance with the provisions of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. They inspected the military base near the town of Florennes, 65 km from Brussels, where U.S. cruise missiles were deployed, and also the European center for the technical servicing of U.S. cruise missiles in Gosselies.

We are satisfied with the results of the verification, said Major General V.I. Medvedev, a member of one of the inspection groups and head of a Soviet nuclear risk reduction center. The inspection confirmed that not a single cruise missile remains at the Florennes base. A certain number of missiles are undergoing technical servicing at the European center in Gosselies. They will operate until their withdrawal from Europe is complete.

Karpov, Gerasimov Give Foreign Ministry Briefings

LD1003125389 Moscow TASS in English 1235 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 10 TASS—The delegations of the Warsaw Treaty countries tabled at the Vienna talks specific proposals giving a chance to get down immediately to a business-like discussion and to look for mutually acceptable decisions, said Viktor Karpov, USSR deputy foreign minister. On Friday [10 March] he spoke at a briefing dealing with the start in the Austrian capital of talks on conventional armed forces and talks on confidence-building measures and security in Europe.

Yuriy Kashlev, head of the Soviet delegation at the Vienna meeting, noted that the talks are mutually complementing and are aimed at lessening military confrontation and promoting disarmament in Europe.

Replying to a question, Viktor Karpov favoured talks on tactical nuclear weapons, along with the Vienna talks on conventional arms. He noted that the realisation of NATO plans to modernise tactical nuclear arms would have a negative influence on the prospects for reaching understandings in Vienna. As for the Soviet Union, it does not conduct any modernisation of its tactical nuclear weapons.

Replying to another question, the deputy minister confirmed that "the USSR has no chemical weapons abroad". If there are doubts on this score, the Soviet Union is ready to conduct an inspection together with the USA. "This should be done to verify where U.S. chemical weapons are deployed abroad and to ask our Warsaw Treaty allies to admit U.S. inspectors to their territories: Let them get convinced that there are no Soviet chemical weapons there."

Speaking at a briefing, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, called a "gross violation" the actions of American secret services against Lieutenant Colonel Yuriy Pakhtusov, assistant military attache at the USSR Embassy to the USA, who was expelled from the USA. He said that this is a deliberate preplanned action against a Soviet diplomatic staff member who did not carry out any actions incompatible with his diplomatic status.

The journalists were told that on March 9 the USSR Embassy in Washington lodged a resolute protest to the State Department against this hostile provocation which runs counter to all rules of international law and international practice and is incompatible with the new constructive atmosphere developing in Soviet-American relations. The United States assumes all the responsibility for this action.

Gerasimov described another case of spy scare, this time in the FRG. The West German press and television started printing and airing sensational reports in the recent past that a group of agents were exposed in the north of the country. They were allegedly engaged in computer espionage in favour of the Soviet Union. It is indicative, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman noted, that credibility of this information was put into doubt in West Germany itself. In actual fact, appropriate organisations refuted facts of such leaks, saying that they did not put any secret information into data banks accessible for the general public.

"One can get an impression," Gerasimov said, "that some people who have been trying stubbornly and for a long time to interfere with the development of economic, scientific and technical relations between the FRG and Western Europe as a whole and the Soviet Union, had their hand in this affair. One can detect an overseas style in this provocation."

'Roundtable' on Vienna Talks, Afghanistan

LD1203195189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 12 Mar 89

["International Observers Roundtable" program presented by Nikolay Agayants, All-Union Radio foreign political commentator, with Vadim Borisovich Kassis, editor in chief of GOLOS RODINY newspaper and OTCHIZNA magazine, and Yuriy Emmanuilovich Kornilov, TASS political observer]

[Text] [Agayants] Hello, esteemed listeners. The past week gives us a reason to talk about such problems as the cooperation of the socialist states, the beginning of the new round of the Vienna talks on the reduction of arms and armed forces in Europe, and events in and around Afghanistan. But let me first of all introduce those taking part in our meeting today. They are Vadim Borisovich Kassis, editor in chief of GOLOS RODINY newspaper and OTCHIZNA magazine, and Yuriy Emmanuilovich Kornilov, TASS political observer.

Well, and now let's get down to work, as they say. For 3 days, from 6-8 March, the majestic Hofburg Palace in the Austrian capital was one of the most important centers of international efforts aimed at achieving progress in the process of detente and disarmament and building a reliable foundation for the common European home.

[Kassis] Yes, it was there in Vienna that the meeting of the foreign ministers of 33 European states and of the United States and Canada took place. The meeting marked the beginning of important talks on conventional arms in Europe and on measures to strengthen trust and security in the continent. As you know, our country was represented by Comrade Shevardnadze.

[Agayants] It has to be remarked right away that the delegations of the USSR and the other socialist countries came to the Austrian capital with the firm intention of getting real results in bringing the European military potentials down to a level at which neither side—NATO nor the Warsaw Pact—will have the physical possibility of launching an attack.

[Kornilov] There are many facts which show how sincere and consistent they are in taking that stance. For example, the socialist countries are carrying out a unilateral reduction of their armed forces and armaments and effecting a decisive transition to a defensive military doctrine.

[Agayants] These and other measures are intended to help ensure that the Vienna talks get off to a dynamic start. There is no doubt that the concept of the new political thinking, which is today penetrating ever more deeply into the hearts and minds of millions of people, is conducive to creating an atmosphere of trust at the talks. It is having an impact not only on ordinary people—the man in the street, as we often say—but on prominent statesmen and public figures in various countries. Whether this is enough to ensure the success of the present talks, time will tell. But let us get back, in detail, to their beginning.

[Kassis] Vienna's political calendar, which millions of people throughout the world have been thumbing through with enormous attention and interest over the past week, is packed with events. On 6 March, the meeting of foreign ministers—as we've said, of the 33 European states plus the United States and Canada—opened, and ended 3 days later. There have been many important bilateral meetings between prominent politicians and leading diplomats of East and West.

[Kornilov] The range of problems under discussion at the Vienna forums is very wide, but the problems are interconnected and it goes without saying that what lies at the heart of them is the joint effort to inaugurate a new era in the process of real disarmament. This involves a sharp reduction of troops and so-called conventional armaments in Europe and the establishment of a balance of military potentials in the continent that will leave both military-political alliances—both the Warsaw Pact and NATO—with such forces and weapons as are necessary for defense only.

I don't think there is any need to point out the extreme importance of solving this problem. Let me just say that our country and the other Warsaw Pact member states have been trying to get these talks going for a long time, and have done much to make them a reality. It is unlikely that such a result could have been achieved without the salutary changes in the general European climate, which are directly connected with our restructuring. This, by the way, is the very thought that was particularly emphasized by Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze in his interview with our news agency a few days ago.

[Agayants] Well, and speaking more specifically of the Vienna disarmament forum and the positions of the sides?

[Kornilov] To be more specific, our country advocates a three-stage reduction of armed forces in Europe to a level adequate exclusively for defense, while NATO for its part has made a proposal for stability at lower levels of armament. You don't have to be a military expert to see that just a few years ago, it would have been difficult to imagine such a thing. What we have is a certain similarity in our approaches, with both sides urging elimination of the potential for sudden attack and initiation of large-scale offensive operations. Both sides are in favor of attaining a lower level of general military confrontation in Europe.

[Agayants] Yes, Yuriy Emmanuilovich, it's a sign of the times that we are adopting a common approach; and it's not for nothing that this should be the very thing that many, if not the majority, of the Western politicians and specialists have been drawing attention to above all. The starting points of the sides are no longer diametrically opposed, as West German Foreign Minister Genscher noted in a speech in Vienna. On the contrary, he said, there is a considerable rapprochement at the conceptual level. The British radio and television company BBC reports that the new talks have begun on an encouraging note, and that the prospects for Europe ceasing to be the region most heavily saturated with armaments today looks more realistic than ever before. End quote. That being so, there is every reason to say that the talks already have something—quite a lot in fact—to get their teeth into.

[Kassis] Certainly they are getting off to a good start. But let us not forget that the sharing of approaches is not at all the same thing as their being identical; between the fact of our having all this in common and the achievement of specific agreements, there is quite a wide gap. If that gap is to be bridged, we need persistence, political will, and a sincere desire on both sides to seek and find mutually acceptable solutions.

[Kornilov] Well, Vadim Borisovich, let us note in this connection that many of the knots that will have to be untied are aleady apparent. To see that, you need only compare our proposals with NATO's proposals. In advocating that the imbalances and asymmetries be eliminated over 2 or 3 years, the Soviet Union and our allies and friends emphasize, for example, that those imbalances must refer not only to basic armaments, but also to numerical strength of forces. Our country and the other socialist states have set the example in this respect by announcing that they are about to carry out a substantial reduction of their armed forces, as we have already mentioned. Bulagrian Foreign Minister Mladenov, by the way, recalled and particulary emphasized this in his speech in Vienna. What about the West? Strange as it may seem, the NATO powers, in expounding their own platform, prefer to leave out all mention of the question of numerical strength. How can such an approach be called constructive? What sort of reductions are they, anyway, if the main component of the armed forces—personnel—remains outside their limits?

[Agayants] Yes. If in addition you compare the positions of the sides on basic armaments, it is not difficult to see that there are quite a few problems there as well. The USSR, we know, strongly advocates that, while sharply lowering the level of military confrontation, we should cut such armaments as strike combat aircraft, military helicopters, tanks, armored vehicles and armored carriers, and artillery. In the West, where to this day there are still people around who like to frighten the man in the street with the armadas of Soviet tanks that are supposedly poised to move into the plains of Western Europe at any moment, they agree that the number of tanks—in which the Warsaw Treaty does, indeed, have a certain superiority—ought to be reduced. But at the same time, the NATO men, today at least, avoid getting down to business on the need to reduce frontine tactical air forces as well: battlefield helicopters. But are these not types of armaments that can be used for sudden attack? They certainly can!

[Kassis] But then how is one to reconcile such an approach with the statement of 16 Western states that they will endeavour in Vienna—I quote—to create a situation in which sudden attack and large-scale offensive operations will cease to be a real option?

[Kornilov] That's just it. As we see, here too, we plainly have an unconstructive approach and an attempt at artificially narrowing the range of destabilizing armaments that—and this is axiomatic—must be the first to be subject to reduction. This is to say nothing of another factor which destabilizes the situation; namely, the plans being worked on in certain places in the West for modernizing tactical nuclear armaments. What Europe needs today is not modernization of missiles, but modernization of systems of security, on the basis of maximum reduction of troops and armaments.

[Agayants] I think, though, that we ought not to make such a fuss about the noncoincidence of approaches.

[Kornilov] Of course not, Nikolay Ivanovich. The talks in Vienna have begun. They are proceeding in a businesslike atmosphere. And that, after all, is the main thing. Moreover, there are grounds to assert that these talks have all the preconditions for such agreements to be elaborated at them as would lead to a qualitatively new state of European security. The myth which has been so cherished by some people in the West about a Soviet military threat has breathed its last, or, to be more precise, is breathing its last breath. West Germans, for example, as the public opinion polls show, when asked on the questionnaire what perturbs them in international affairs, placed the problem of an external threat in 17th and last place.

As for Soviet-U.S. relations, I will remind you that, during the first meeting, which took place in Vienna, between our foreign minister and the new U.S. secretary of state, both sides confirmed the continuity in the development of the Soviet-U.S. political dialogue in the spirit of the mutual understanding which was achieved in conversations between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and President Bush. All this gives one hope. But, if one is to remain firmly rooted in reality, it is impossible not to see that, nevertheless, the path ahead is not the smooth and even sidewalk of Nevskiy Prospekt.

[Kassis] In this connection, I recall the speech the new U.S. President made 6 March at the conference of the conservative U.S. organization, the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Do you remember his words? The main lesson of the past decade boils down to the following: Strength guarantees peace.

[Agayants] Well, what can one say about this, Vadim Borisovich? One can only regret that the leader of the current U.S. Administration considered it appropriate and necessary to put into circulation such a postulate in his first major speech, one which a number of organs of the Western mass media even declare is a program speech, because the lesson of the past decade, or more precisely of all the post-war decades, tells with all clarity not of a triumph for strength, but quite the opposite that one cannot achieve either peace or even one's own security by banking on strength and increasing the Mont Blanc of armament.

[Kornilov] Yes, indubitably the road to genuine peace lies today not through increasing the arms race, but through arms reduction; not through methods and means of strength in politics, but through honest and constructive dialogue; not through confrontation and struggle, but through strengthening mutual understanding and trust. The Vienna talks of the 35 and the 23 are directed precisely toward such goals, talks which the Soviet foreign minister named figuratively, when speaking in the Hofburg Palace, two new branches of Helsinki. Developing this image, one can say that the Soviet and world pubic hopes and believes that today, when the new political thinking is asserting itself more and more both in Europe and beyond its boundaries, the new branches of the tree of Helsinki will bear good fruit which neither the cold winds of the past nor any of the newest political dry winds will threaten.

[Agayants] So once again the venue is Vienna and the Hofburg Palace and its two halls where the sittings are taking place. We will remind our comrades that, in accordance with the conditions of the agreement which was worked out, the talks are being conducted in parallel. That means the representatives of 35 states within the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe are continuing a discussion of measures for consolidating confidence and security on the continent; and the 23 delegations representing the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO are concentrating on the problems of conventional weapons and armed forces in Europe. What about the 12 neutral and nonaligned countries of the old world who have not been included in this pool? They are to become involved in the dialogue on reductions at a later date. So, there is major and intense work ahead and we want—very much want—to hope that it will prove useful and will be a serious contribution to the construciton of a common European home.

But let us now pass over to another region of our planet. Nearly a month has passed since the day when the last soldier from the limited Soviet contingent of troops left Afghanistan. This act in itself was appraised highly by the world public. The Soviet Union has not retreated a single step on the commitments it assumed under the Geneva package. The withdrawal of the Soviet units was completed by agreement with the Afghan leadership. It was conducted in an impeccable manner without any losses or complications, and has a direct bearing on the new political thinking and the new policy.

[Kornilov] It is a unique event, and its significance can be evaluated from a military and political viewpoint too. For after that day, 15 February, a new stage opened up, in essence, in regional and international policy whereby one of the most incandescent conflicts is effectively being given a real chance of being resolved by purely peaceful means. During the bloody war the Afghan people have borne very great human and material losses, and immense damage has been done to the national Afghan economy.

[Kassis] We ought, I think, to add that millions of Afghans are living in refugee camps or have simply become homeless.

[Agayants] Najibullah, the republic's president, in his address to Afghans living abroad, stressed that now there are no impediments whatsoever to their return to the homeland and called on them not to allow their sons to continue dying in a fratricidal war. He noted the historical blood ties of the Pashtuns and Baluchis of the border districts with the population of Afghanistan, and called on them not to permit the extremists to use the tribal areas for aggression against their brothers and interference in the internal affairs of the republic.

[Kornilov] Here we must mention Pakistan's position too. Indeed, let us recall that when the Soviet troops were in Afghanistan, they in Islamabad took the position that the Soviet contingent was allegedly a threat and that what was happening amounted to just an occupation of Afghanistan, and so on. But now all these trump cards have been finally removed from the hands of the foes of a settlement. Nevertheless, even after the signing of the Geneva agreements and even after the withdrawal of the Soviet troops, the Pakistani authorities are continuing to hinder and impede a Afghan settlement, and have not only failed to end interference in Afghan affairs from without but have, on the contrary, intensified it. A threat is being created to the national sovereignty and territorial integrity, to the very independence, of Afghanistan. In these conditions, the government in Kabul was compelled to proclaim a state of emergency.

[Agayants] This step was certainly forced on it, but it in no way is a retreat from the national reconciliation policy. That needs to be stressed particularly. On the contrary, the policy which has been in operation for 2 years is being strengthened. The government is striving to create all the conditions needed for it to be fully realized. Judge for yourselves. The authorities in the United States and Pakistan are continuing to this very day to give political backing to the so-called Peshawar government which was nurtured and created by them. Recently the president and prime minister of Pakistan sent a message of greetings to the consultative council of the armed opposition on the occasion of their forming the so-called interim government of Afghanistan.

[Kassis] Here is another point. Nikolay Ivanovich, you mentioned the continuing political support for the Peshawar government. As if that is all there is to it! After all, last year the United States and Saudi Arabia allocated $700 million in military aid to the Afghan rebels. There is information that this twosome will allocate no less a sum to the rebels this year too. According to the Indian paper NATIONAL HERALD, the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan was a unilateral peace gesture, insofar as the patrons of the armed opposition are continuing to give it comprehensive assistance.

[Kornilov] Here is what THE NEW YORK TIMES writes: The United States will continue to give military aid to the Afghan rebels through the Pakistani intelligence service, rather than send that aid to the recently formed government-in-exile. Officials in the United States and Pakistan, continues the newspaper, believe that it is too risky to place the responsibility for its operations on the embryonic government which may be rejected by the Afghan people or may prove incapable of governing the country.

[Agayants] I think, Yuriy Emmanuilovich, that we must recall once again the statement of President Najibullah who said that his country's government is ready to return to the Soviet Union all the armaments which were needed for defense against the rebels if the opposition forces also get rid of their weapons.

In an interview with the U.S. company NBC, Najibullah urged the American people to stop the delivery of lethal weapons to Afghanistan and to send the country economic aid instead.

[Kassis] Here is what the BAKHTAR INFORMATION AGENCY reports: The Kabul-Hayratan route is now fully open to road traffic. Columns with foodstuffs and fuel from the Soviet Union are proceeding toward the capital via the Salang Pass. Our country, faithful to its pledges, is disinterestedly helping the Afghans overcome the hunger and the cold.

[Kornilov] But only recently, Vadim Borisovich, some people in the West, and in Pakistan too, went so far as to predict the fall of Kabul virtually the day after the last

Soviet soldier left Afghanistan. Indeed, the extremists did their best to stifle the capital through hunger and paralyze its life. But right at the very beginning of the attempts to organize such a blockade, the Soviet people came to the aid of the Afghan people. Pilots delivered more than 4 tonnes [as heard] of flour to the Afghan capital. Soviet soldiers distributed flour, rice, and kerosene to the population free of charge directly from the trucks.

[Agayants] Obviously the situation in Afghanistan today is not all unclouded. Fighting against the opposition goes on. We cannot disregard the fact that, after the completion of the withdrawal of Soviet troops, interference in the country's internal affairs by the United States and Pakistan intensified. That is why the Soviet Union is doing everything to avoid bloodshed in Afghanistan. The recent visit to Pakistan by the USSR foreign minister, Comrade Shevardnadze, and Ambassador Vorontsov's talks with representatives of all opposing forces and Afghanistan's neighbors are real confirmation of this.

[Kassis] While at the very same time, the Peshawar Alliance of Seven is risking an escalation of the civil war in Afghanistan. A new element—seeking international recognition by the opposition—is being introduced into the unseemly attempts to seize power in the country. In connection with this, a representative of the Soviet Foreign Ministry made a statement a few days ago. It emphasizes that at the moment there is one lawful government in the republic and one lawful head of state—President Najibullah.

[Kornilov] The only sensible alternative to war in Afghanistan—and this is being repeatedly emphasized both in Moscow and in Kabul—is the road of peaceful talks and compromise, the road of establishing inter-Afghan dialogue with the aim of establishing a broadly based government with the participation of all the opposing forces and groups. And this government is, of course, unthinkable without the participation of the PDPA. Peace and national accord in the republic can only be attained through the common efforts of all political parties and groups. A nationwide government, for the creation of which Afghanistan's leadership is calling, would—and there is no doubt about this—be able to ensure both the return of Afghan refugees to their homeland and the restoration of the war-ruined economy.

[Agayants] Continuing with our discussion today, I would like to note the following: We often speak about new approaches in international affairs and about new political thinking, and rightly so. All that is so. But sometimes this tendency is revealed unexpectedly, not to say sensationally, even in bastions of conservatism.

[Kassis] You are not thinking, Nikolay Ivanovich, of the scandalous finale of the attempts to appoint the head of the Pentagon in the Bush administration, are you?

[Agayants] And why not? Obviously everything is much more complicated than it appears. But take a look at how John Tower's opponents motivated their position. Just to remind you, the U.S. Senate rejected Tower's candidacy for the office of the secretary of defense by a vote of 53 to 47.

[Kornilov] And that, Nikolay Ivanovich, was with the White House and the Republican leadership in the Congress waging a sustained struggle for the nomination of the candidate personally put forward and supported by the President.

[Agayants] Indeed, Yuriy Emmanuilovich. But, as you can see, nothing helped, and the entire idea ended in failure. The opponents to the nomination of the former Republican senator from Texas directly pointed out in the course of the debate that the military department could under no circumstances be entrusted to a man who had abused alcohol for many years. In the nuclear age, declared Senator Bennett Johnston, we cannot take any chances with the man who is going to hold the future of the world in his hands.

[Kassis] Perhaps this is put too strongly about the future of the world. Nevertheless, this story with Tower is as instructive as it is unusual for the United States.

[Kornilov] And I think this story is not a bad illustration for understanding the mechanism of the U.S. democracy. After all, George Bush and the Republican leadership were trying to prove that the accusations against Tower were groundless, while he himself was swearing that if he were to become the head of the Pentagon not a drop of alcohol would pass his lips.

[Agayants] Yes, Tower exposed himself badly, as they say. But at the same time, I think, he also exposed George Bush, who, having experienced the bitter taste of defeat at the outset of his Presidency, has seriously had to rack his brains over the choice of a new candidate for the post of the head of the military department.

And now, Comrades, I would like to direct your attention to the subject of cooperation between the fraternal socialist countries at the present stage of their socioeconomic development—a complex stage susceptible of more than one interpretation. After all, life itself, the processes of restructuring, and socialist renewal which are taking place in our countries are presenting our parties and our peoples with new problems and new tasks the solution of which presupposes a fuller and more efficient use of the entire potential of world socialism.

[Kassis] Naturally. After all, the socialist world is today going through a special—one could say critical—period. History has firmly set the question of the necessity to make fuller and more decisive use of the advantages of the new social system for speeding up scientific-technical, economic, and social progress in order to enrich the socialist way of life with new facets.

[Kornilov] Well, this urgent setting of the problem is connected with the persistent requirement of the time. I am thinking of an accelerated transfer of the economies of the majority of the socialist countries onto the track of intensive development. I am also thinking of the necessity of modernization, fundamental restructuring, and improvement, if you like, of such a mechanism of cooperation as CEMA.

[Agayants] It is all these issues to which last week's economic meeting of secretaries of the central committees of the fraternal parties was devoted. Our country was represented in Prague by Comrade Slyunkov. The fact that the CEMA countries are examining the prospects for their development in combination with world economic trends reflects the logic of an interdependent and integral world. Taking it into consideration allows us to conclude that the attainment of the planned levels of development by the socialist community could become a major factor in peace and progress and stability in the international situation as a whole. This naturally places a special, historic responsibility on the socialist states and spurs the CPSU, as emphasized at the 19th All-Union Conference, to put the relations with them in the first place in the field of practical international activity.

The time for our program is nearing its end. Its participants thank you, comrade listeners, for your attention. All the best to you.

International Peaceful Coexistence Discussed

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["International Program" studio discussion with Georgiy Khosroyevich Shakhnzarov, president of the Soviet Association of Political Sciences; Vladimir Fedorovich Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister; Major General Geliy Viktorovich Batenin, military expert, with recorded interview with Michel Tatu, LE MONDE correspondent and member of the European Strategic Research Group; moderated by Valentin Fedorovich Dvinin, political observer of USSR State Television and Radio]

[Excerpts] [Dvinin, off-screen reading words which appear on screen] We have to approach the very idea of peaceful coexistence in a new way with due consideration for the terrible dangers today and at the same time with due regard for the fact that we have all become much more dependent upon each other. [passage omitted] [video shows Gorbachev meeting members of the Tripartite Commission, including Giscard d'Estaing, Kissinger, and Nakasone; clip shows troops, artillery weapons hitting targets, ships, missiles, and a nuclear blast] The arms race developed under conditions that we called peaceful coexistence. But was peaceful coexistence of that kind capable of guaranteeing reliable security? After all, it did not rid the planet of local wars and regional conflicts, and essentially not one single problem linked with these could be solved by force of arms. Despite all the differences between them, this was shown equally by Vietnam and by Afghanistan. It was only on the tracks of the new thinking that new aproaches to genuine peaceful coexistence made their appearance when the Soviet-U.S. treaty was concluded and when the destruction of the first nuclear missiles, on the range near the settlement of Saryozek in Kazakhstan of which few people had ever heard, announced to the world that the era of real disarmament had begun. [video: brief clips of U.S. troops in Vietnam, of Soviet troops in APC in Afghanistan; explosions] [passage omitted]

We have received quite a large number of questions both by telephone and in writing. Most of the questions were about the following topic: Why do we not now consider peaceful coexistence to be a form of class struggle? This is how Mikhail Sergeyevich Mustyakov from Moscow formulated this question. The document of the international conference of communist and workers' parties of 1969 notes that the policy of peaceful coexistence does not mean either the preservation of the social and political status quo or the relaxation of the ideological struggle. It promotes the development of class struggle on a national and worldwide scale. How does this provision fit in with the conclusion that peaceful coexistence is not a form of class struggle, the television viewer asks. I would like to ask you, Georgiy Khosroyevich, to answer this question.

[Shakhnazarov] My view is that first of all we have to think how right it was to declare peaceful coexistence to be a form of class struggle, because to what is the concept of peaceful coexistence itself addressed? To the fact that there are two systems that are the opposites of each other in their class nature, and this by virtue of the fact that a new system has made its appearance in the world. Struggle of some kind between them is inevitable. One has to try to arrange things in such a way that under conditions where powerful means of mass destruction have been created this struggle is not taken to the point of killing and death. That is the key, so to speak, to this concept.

Of course, from the very beginning it did not amount just to peace alone, just to the prevention of a state of war alone. It was expected that states belonging to different systems would be able to cooperate, to trade, and to exchange cultural values and so forth between themselves. In other words, from the very beginning this concept was not limited. Nevertheless, the meaning of it amounted precisely to this, that class struggle, particularly in its most acute forms, should not be extended to relations between states.

I, personally, thus have to say that I always considered that it was wrong to describe it in the way that was done in the document to which our television viewer referred, in particular. Moreover I will say that many writers on international affairs, theoreticians, and practical exponents in our country have never repeated that thesis in their works. The fact that it says quite correctly that peaceful coexistence does not mean a social status quo is a different matter. That is indeed so. In any situation today no one can halt the struggle between ideas and between people for their rights against oppression, especially the struggle of nations that are made subject to plundering and so forth—that is a different question.

So peaceful existence from the very beginning, it seems to me, has amounted to the prevention of a state of war and consequently the prevention both of the export of revolution and the export of counterrevolution by both sides. It seems to me that it would be very naive to suppose that the concept itself has to remain unchanged. Everything in the world changes; everything has already acquired perfectly new features and has done so in a radical way, so to speak. It is natural that this concept, too, must become enriched in some way.

It seems to me that in present-day conditions, when we talk about an interdependent world, about the manifestation of acute global problems forcing mankind to rally its ranks even more, so to speak, and perceive itself as a single civilization, it seems to me that now one is already perfectly able to talk about a changeover to peaceful coexistence. This means that without removing any of the ideological or social differences we can already state boldly that some new features have made their appearance in the international situation, and that they require from us joint action and cooperation which go far beyond the limits of what has been the case to date. Effectively we are moving toward the formation of a world community as a whole which has very many common tasks and which will solve them increasingly vigorously, so to speak, by joint efforts.

But I repeat: This certainly does not mean that the differences are disappearing. On the contrary, diversity is just as much a natural feature of the life of the world community as it is of nature, and everywhere there will certainly be a wealth of the most diverse approaches. This does not mean that different forms of struggle will not develop, including class struggle, within individual societies, where the peoples themselves have the right to solve their problems and to determine their choice as they wish. I believe one can answer the viewer's question in approximately those terms.

[Dvinin] In light of all these new approaches, changes must obviously take place in our country in foreign policy, too. How do things stand now with regard to the priorities of our Soviet diplomacy? This is a question for you, Vladimir Fedorovich, as a Foreign Ministry representative.

[Petrovskiy] I have to say that the new philosophy of peaceful coexistence, which is dictated by life itself and by the objective development of international relations itself, is now bringing to the fore the priority of political means and the need to resolve all problems that arise in an exclusively peaceful way. I have to say that this presents diplomacy with an opportunity to reveal itself fully, to rid itself of the propaganda fetters that have been pinning it down, and become what it should be—an instrument of concord. In other words, we are talking about the need for action to be equally vigorous in areas linked with disarmament, with the settlement of situations of conflict and crisis, with ensuring human rights and other humanitarian problems, and in the areas of the economy and ecology. At the same time, however, the logic of life shows that the disarmament problem is being moved to the fore today, in as much as the solution of all the other problems depends upon disarmament. Priorities are also precisely defined here in disarmament.

It is very important today to resolve questions connected with the elimination of nuclear, chemical, and other means of mass destruction, with the reduction of conventional weapons and lowering the military potentials to the level of reasonable sufficiency necessary for purposes of defense. Priorities from the viewpoint of relations with countries are changing and standing out more clearly. Our highest and main priority is the development and strengthening of relations with the countries of the socialist community. The development of our relations with the developing countries and in particular with the Nonaligned Movement, which is a very powerful factor in present-day world politics, is an important priority development.

Finally, the concept of the comprehensive approach. This means that all states are equal participants in international contacts. Today it is impossible to look at the world through the prism of relations with this or that particular country. For this reason, while developing a productive dialogue with the United States, we attach great importance to the European area of our foreign policy. A dialogue that is productive and rich in content must be conducted with everyone.

[Dvinin] I would like Geliy Viktorovich to join in our discussion, the more so since there is a direct question, as it were, for him. Smirnova, a foreign language teacher, has written: A general will be taking part in the program. What place do the military people take in these new approaches which we are discussing?

[Batenin] Well, I believe that if it isn't the first place then it's among those who are implementing this policy vigorously. Methods of solving international problems with the help of the tools of war and military force are retreating, as it were, into the background in our policy of implementing peaceful coexistence. But military strength as such remains, because the world is a diverse place. It changes, but it changes with definite tendencies which whilst they prevail over other tendencies nevertheless do not yet destroy them. The policy of disarmament, the policy of all states having military force of a kind that is balanced according to their interests, according to their interests, with national interests and international interests in harmony, is a military and political subject at one and the same time. Consequently, military people are not the object of the solution of these tasks of peaceful coexistence but the subject of the solution of these tasks. In other words, they participate directly in all spheres linked with reducing the military threat. The task of the military people, in fact, is to transform a military tool into an instrument for the preservation of peace. That is in what we are engaged.

[Dvinin] Geliy Viktorovich, I would like you also to answer a specific question from a television viewer who telephoned us literally a day before the program. He has read an article by Academician Goldanskiy in IZVESTIYA, who considers the principle of military parity to be obsolete and wasteful. At one time when we achieved this parity he viewed it a great achievement on our part, a cardinal achievment even. What is your opinion on this, as a military expert?

[Batenin] The fact is that when we look at a cross-section of what is taking place in the world and look at what we are striving toward, then indeed one can say that parity is a kind of residual principle, that parity requires of a state or of a group of states that it maintain its forces at a level no less significant than those of your likely enemy, as we military people say. The fact that we were able to achieve parity with the United States and to reduce generally the tension in which we were always living shows that here parity is extremely essential. At least, no one has yet thought up a better principle of restraint by both states than parity.

But what about the substance of the parity? The substance of the parity can be qualitative and it can be quantitative. It still exists, in so far as our policy and the policy of our international opponents—this is the main thing—has not fully moved over to the positions of the new political thinking. Although we do perhaps consider that we are the initiators here, there are places where we still operate with circumspection as regards our likely enemies. If equality exists in the European theater and we recognize parity as a restraining factor, then of course in no case can one say that this is a reasonable basis for our relations with the Europeans. But at least it is not we who are holding back the changeover to a reasonable basis; it is being held back by the West.

So I want to say that the quantitative side is not enough as far as we are concerned, and we are thus going to deal with the quality of this, bearing in mind the fact that the main principle will be that of defensive sufficiency, which has been expressed in very precise terms in our miltary doctrine and especially in the implementation of the major proposals of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in the sphere of unilateral reductions of armed forces.

[Dvinin] Would anyone like to add anything?

[Shakhnazarov] Yes, I would like a few words. It seems to me that Academician Goldanskiy is thinking precisely about that primitive approach to parity in which they consider that everything should be done one to one: They have a missile, so we have a missile; they have a submarine, we have a submarine; and so forth. This principle was derived by Jaroslav Hasek in his day. He had a wonderful story, the disarmament conference, in which all states were offered the right to have the same number of dreadnoughts as the United States. The only way of preventing war was for everyone to have the same army, and so on and so forth. It seems to me, therefore, that you are absolutely right, Geliy Viktorovich, when you say that the issue is now moving over to the qualitative side.

But there is also another side to the matter. What is going to happen in the long term? If we bank on achieving the complete elimination of nuclear weapons by the end of the century, then no doubt this principle will not be able to operate for all time. It is for the stage when confrontation still exists, when there is caution with regard to each other, when there is insufficient confidence, and one has to expect this to be reduced to zero as we lower the level of confrontation.

[Batenin] That is absolutely right.

[Shakhnazarov] And security will then be decided not by military means but by political means?

[Batenin] Yes, in an ideal situation. But if we indeed answer a tank with a tank, if we answer a missile with a missile, and so forth, it completely distorts the picture of our vision and our forecasts for the future, because we know that even the conventional development of conventional means for waging armed struggle under the conditions of the urbanization and technicalization of mankind constitutes a tragedy.

[Petrovskiy] Geliy Viktorovich has touched upon one very important topic. What is it that plays a restraining role in international relations? In the traditional patterns of international relations which are based, yes, upon models of military security, of course great importance is attached to nuclear restraint, as they say, and military restraint.

Our attitude toward nuclear deterrence is absolutely clear: We regard it as an amoral and virtually unrealizable doctrine. The question then arises: So what about military deterrence? At the moment when very wide discussions are taking place in the world concerning our proposal for a comprehensive security system, many people incline toward the view that no doubt the role of the deterrent factor in the new world political order of the future will have to be played by political and legal mechanisms. An important role must be played by international law and international institutions. I believe that this is the direction in which the proposals that were formulated by Mikhail Sergeyevich in the UN Organization are working, proposals for the internationalization of international problems, for the internationalization of the mechanisms of contact. [video shows Gorbachev making speech to the United Nations]

[Dvinin] I think the time has come, comrade television viewers, to introduce the overseas participant in our program. He is Michel Tatu, a journalist from the Paris LE MONDE. In my view that is one of the most authoritative bourgeois press organs in France. Michel Tatu was once LE MONDE correspondent in Moscow, and he is now a recognized specialist on our country. As such he is even a member of the European Strategic Research Group. Before the program I contacted him via the television link.

Mr Tatu, you have published a long article in your newspaper about the Soviet Union's new peaceful coexistence policy. That coincides with the subject of our program. I believe it would be interesting for Soviet viewers to learn how people in the West, and a French Sovietologist in particular, see and perceive these new approaches of ours to peaceful coexistence. What can you say about this?

[Tatu, speaking in Russian] What people have observed here, and indeed not only in France but throughout the world, is the fact that in the first place there is the idea of values common to all mankind which are prevailing over class interests, the idea that the struggle between the two systems is no longer determining the content of the internatioal situation. This is, of course, new by comparison with what used to be said. In the past the approach was always the same, that the Soviet Union is a kind of fortress amid a hostile encirclement, we are surrounded, and we must thus fight endlessly and campaign against alien ideology, and of course it is very difficult to cooperate with such people. I regard it as positive that now there are fewer enemies, and of course this too is a consequence of internal restructuring, because it has to be said that this approach, this idea that we are only among enemies has also been a weapon for repressions internally. If there is more pluralism internally there is less need for enemies of that kind externally.

[Dvinin] Mr Tatu, let me ask you: What is your assessment of the unilateral steps of the Soviet Union and those of other member states of the Warsaw Pact with regard to troop and conventional weapons reductions?

[Tatu] Like virtually everyone in the world I assess this positively. It is of course a good thing. It provides opportunities for talks about further reductions. I personally do not consider that this is an enormous sacrifice. In the first place when I was in Moscow 30 years ago I remember that in 1960 Khrushchev announced a reduction of the Soviet Army by more than a third. It has to be said that nearly all Western observers say that if such unilateral measures take place, then it is because Brezhnev of course built up so many weapons and maintained so many soldiers that I think the Soviet Union can give up a large part of this without any threat to its security. It is possible to go further, because many people in the West still believe that the Soviet Army enjoys superiority in many areas of armaments. But I agree, of course, that other steps will also be the subject of talks with the West, and that the West, too—maybe not now—must also make some reductions.

[Dvinin] You say in your article that certain questions have arisen in your mind concerning our new approaches to peaceful coexistence. What are these questions? You could put them to the participants in our program.

[Tatu] I raised two questions in that article—maybe there are others—but one question is: What precisely are these values common to all mankind? When we now put this question to Soviet people they usually say well, ecology, the ozone layer, an issue that concerns everyone, and I agree that ozone is neither capitalist nor socialist. We also speak especially about human rights, common civilization and culture. But it seems to me that it will be necessary to define these values even further because one cannot confine oneself to ecology and culture alone.

The second question deals with the liberation movement and the Third World. In recent times—in the last 10-20 years, say—many countries and many states have given themselves a system similar to the Soviet system. They have copied and imitated even some of those aspects of that system that are not the most favorable: the one-party system, press control, and so on and so forth. These states have also considered that they will receive help from the Soviet Union, especially military help, if only they say that they are building socialism and criticize the Americans. I consider that that is not the correct approach. I note, too, that all these countries...[Tatu corrects himself] that none of these countries has become a shining light, an example in other words, for other countries of the Third World. It seems to me that the Soviet Union's new approach, the fact that there is a scaling-down of hostility toward the capitalist world, is creating a new situation in which those countries and states will be obliged to rely upon themselves and their own efforts and will be able to count less on obtaining aid from the Soviet Union.

[Dvinin] Thank you very much. I think we will add your questions to those that have been asked by the viewers. We have heard the assessments of the West's representative. In my view they are typical. What is your view?

[Petrovskiy] I have to say that I agree with Mr Tatu when he says that recognition of the primacy of interests common to all mankind opens up prospects for cooperation. I would even go further. It opens up prospects not simply for cooperation but for a qualitatively new manifestation, for shared creativity and shared development by all states in the international community. Without doubt he is also right when he says that a large role has been played in this by the new political thinking which the Soviet Union has taken as guidance for its actions.

But, I would like to say that the international stage is not the theater of just one particular actor. Many characters participate in it, and I consider that it is important for all states to reinterpret critically their past experience and to implement the national restructuring both of their thinking and of their way of operating in the world arena so that the opportunities for shared creativity and development that are now opening may be implemented.

In this connection I have to say that I am a little troubled by Mr Tatu's observation when he reacted to the Soviet Union's unialteral actions. In principle he talks positively about the reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces, but at the same time he says that the West at some time in the future will maybe join in this. In this connection I recall what was said by Diderot, the famous French educationalist. He loved to say that action is essential in order for material to move. In international affairs I would say that a counteraction is essential, and we expect the actions that have been undertaken by the Soviet Union to be taken as a good example by other countries, and that they will meet appropriate movement on their part.

Now, about the system of values common to all mankind. Of course, I think Mr Tatu is right when he says that common human values are the new areas of international cooperation like ecology. Mankind does indeed now face the need for taking some urgent measures to overcome the ecological crisis and the threat of ecological self-destruction. In fact, I would say that this self-destruction differs from nuclear death only in the fact that it takes place at a slower rate. [video: a brief sequence of film clips illustrating ecological disasters of various kinds - pollution, dying seals] [passage omitted]

In January I had occasion to take part in a consultative conference in Nairobi of leaders of departments responsible for diplomatic and nature protection matters. There, in particular, note was made of the need to concentrate the efforts of the international community on the solution of the ozone layer problem. The tasks of preventing oceanic pollution, desertification and deforestation, and the burial of radioactive waste were also defined as areas of priority. It is interesting that the world community agrees about the main areas for action. What is needed today is a concentration of efforts in these areas, and no doubt it is also necessary to seek out the essential resources for this. For example, the international organization which deals with this, the UN Environmental Program, spends a tiny sum on environmental purposes, $30 million annually, which is less than is spent by the U.S. military machine in 1 minute in military expenditure. In this connection very considerable support is being given to the idea proposed by the Soviet Union for the establishment of an ecological fund into which resources released during the disarmament process would be directed.

But I would also like to say that I see all human values as not being confined exclusively to new fields of international cooperation. I think that here one also has to have in mind a system of moral values, the system that began to become part of the practice of international relations as a result of the French Revolution, whose 200th anniversary is being celebrated this year, and as a result of the October Revolution in our country. Without a doubt, therefore, when we speak about a system of values common to all mankind we have to raise the question of implementing the democratization of international relations in all spheres; ecology, human rights, and disarmament. No doubt humanitarian changes, too, belong to the system of common human values.

The new political thinking has for the first time placed at the center of international relations not simply relations between states as the subject of international relations but the role of the person. The Delhi Declaration mentions this directly, that concern for the person must be the concern behind the actions of states. In one word the new political thinking is revealing a wide range of possibilities for developibng cooperation along all axis coordinates, both vertically and horizontally,, while being guided by the system of common human values.

[Dvinin] I have to say that Michel Tatu also asked us a second question, about prospects for relations with the Third World, that is to say with the developing countries. Let me remind you that he believes that the decline in hostility on our part toward the capitalist world will oblige the developing countries to rely more on their own efforts and count less on Soviet aid. Georgiy Khosroyevich, what do you think about this?

[Shakhnazarov] Yes, well I will begin as Vladimir Fedorovich did with the things on which I can agree with Michel Tatu. He is absolutely right when he says that not infrequently in the past straightforward primitive ideological criteria predominated when we were concerned in assessing to whom aid should be given and how it should be given. Indeed, this was an element and a focus in the confrontation because the Americans were doing the same thing. They declared regimes to be democratic merely because in principle they were regimes that in principle were close to them, so to speak; they agreed with them, they were close at hand, and so on. It must be said, therefore, that all of this is to some extent the legacy of the tough confrontation that took place in the past. Of course, I think that our former view, which dominated not only in our own country—that the Soviet Union is the only one revolutionary based, and on which all countries must lean as they embark on the path of socialism—has already been overcome by the development of events itself, first of all because what we have now is not just some isolated hotbeds of the liberation movement but an enormous mass of countries, differentiated by varying concepts, so to speak.

Second, these countries themselves are now able to decide many issues to a much greater degree than was the case in the past. Third, cooperation between them has made its appearance as a factor and they are relying on this to an increasing extent. Of course, in regard to our own policy it certainly has not changed, because in that case we would have to give up our ideology. Our ideology is an internationalist one and quite simply we cannot do so, because we would be losing a part of our worth if we were to forget that we have to help the peoples which are embarking on the road of development, progress, and so on. Completely new opportunities for joint work in extending aid to the Third World are indeed opening up in the new situation, because the problems which used to be hotbeds, as it were, in existence in a particular country are acquiring a general character.

Take the debt problem, for example. This is a worldwide problem and interest in it cannot just belong to the developing countries alone. It is of vital concern to the whole world, including the developed capitalist countries. They also get themselves involved in giving aid to areas of famine—800 million people are starving—there is poverty, there are epidemics, and again this is of concern, if you like, to people in all the developed countries, too, without distinction. [video shows starving children]

[Shakhnazarov] If we do not join together in extending assistance, this will in my view all become just as acute a problem as the ecological problems.

[Dvinin] Georgiy Khosroyevich, you have just been touching on the issue of ideology. A very detailed question received from Comrade Mankovich of the editorial staff of ENERGETICHESKOYE STROITELSTVO is directly related to this. The essence of his very detailed question is as follows. If peaceful coexistence, which we recognize as an objective factor of human progress, does not provide for a society renouncing its ideology, should we place our socialist principles above general human principles or conversely should we place general human principles at the center of the ideology of socialism? If the second assertion is correct, should we also recognize the just nature of the capitalist path of development for human society, and in the final analysis, will this not lead to a merging of the socialist and capitalist ideologies and to the creation of a single ideology for the progressive development of mankind?

[Shakhnazarov] The question has been posed in a very interesting way, although if you start with the final point there are of course no grounds to consider that the ideologies may merge. After all, these ideologies are different. If they were to merge, then a completely different third ideology would emerge. I think that we should put the issue like this: General human values and interests certainly constitute a priority in our world in the sense of policy and all countries are forced all the time to take into account and consider that there is a military threat, an ecological threat, a terrorist threat, and others and they need to conduct themselves accordingly.

I should say that this does not have to do with ideology and should be regarded outside the context of ideology. If you like, this is philosophy. It is no longer ideology, it is philosophy in the modern world and the philosophy of survival, which it seems to me does not concern ideas about what the nature of society should be, how it should be organized, and what is needed to see that justice is ensured in society. We may have our values and the Americans may have theirs. Incidentally, there are very many such values. The Indonesians have their own ideas about this. This is an ideological basis and it simply must not be linked to and mixed up with these general human interests. We must proceed from what is now being called global consciousness and internationalist consciousness. There are very diverse terms. Some say that it is global morality or that it should be globalist morality. Some idea of this is gradually taking shape.

What then should this global morality or global consciousness include? It should include those same simple timeless values that are acknowledged by all people, irrespective of their ideology. I think that we can all say what these are. There is the need, so to speak, to preserve peace; there is the idea that everyone must be given the opportunity to freely choose the path of their development; and there are a number of other equally timeless values such as moral values dating from the time of the Bible. The Ten Commandments are recognized virtually by everyone, regardless of their religion, mental outlook, class, and so on. But it seems to me that the most direct and main criterion, and an integral part of global consciousness, should be recognition of human rights, for man is man everywhere, and by this criterion it is possible everywhere to judge, so to speak, how humane humanity is and how much we are ready to enter a new age and to travel there together and in unison, without seeing all around as potential enemies and so on.

[Petrovskiy] I would like to add to what Georgiy Khosroyevich has been saying. The philosophy of survival that has now been emerging as a practical problem is being reflected already even in the policies of states. For over 2 years now, at the initiative of the socialist countries a dialogue has been getting under way at the United Nations over the formation of a comprehensive security system. In the process of this dialogue, I would say, with every passing year states representing various political and ideological lines are at the same time coming together in recognizing a whole number of generally acceptable values. I believe, for instance, that in the process of this continually strengthening dialogue there will in the final analysis be an opportunity to reach a general consensus regarding this philosophy of survival.

[Dvinin] Prior to this, we have been talking all the time about relations between states—relations which of course presuppose relations between people too—but our program has received a proposal that may be regarded as a direct manifestation of people's democracy. We received a telephone call from Chelyabinsk where the cadets at a local military college have come up with an initiative, which has been backed by the Komsomol obkom, to exchange albeit brief familiarization trips with their contemporaries at some other military college in one of the NATO countries, say, the FRG.

[Petrovskiy] This is a kind of fraternization in the conditions of the nuclear space age. [general laughter]

[Dvinin] Why not? True, the local military authorities are being cautious. Therefore, learning of the participation in our program of General Batenin, the Chelyabinsk Komsomol members decided to turn to you, Geliy Viktorovich, for support. What will you say to them?

[Batenin] What would I like to say? Already now there are real plans for an exchange of trainees between one of our military academies located in Moscow and the West Point military college, or academy to be more precise, in the United States. These are being worked out in detail on the basis of the agreements that have been officially adopted on military contacts or contacts in the military sphere between the USSR and the United States. The second thing is that with the FRG things have even gone so far as an exchange of opinions on military doctrines. I will tell the Chelyabinsk Komsomol members that I give these trainees my moral support. I do not mean to say that it is going to be fraternization; it is getting to know each other; it is removing the image of the enemy in their vision of each other, which can be very useful for the development of the picture of international relations in the true and correct direction about which we are now talking.

[Dvinin] The time available for our program is drawing to an end and of course we have not been able to reply to all the viewers' questions. I do have one question with which to draw things to a conclusion, however: I would like each participant to answer it. It has been asked by Margarita Andreyevna Grigoryan, who writes: We talk about new approaches to peaceful coexistence. What is this going to offer the ordinary Soviet person in specific terms in comparison with the past? How would each of you reply to this question?

[Batenin] From the military point of view, and also, no doubt, from the general humanitarian and human point of view, this means first and foremost peace. Furthermore, well, on the 15th we quit Afghanistan. That is one side and a practical result of this policy.

[Shakhnazarov] My response is this, that restructuring would be impossible without the new political thinking and I would also give an even simpler answer: The story of the earthquake, the tragedy of Armenia, clearly everyone understands that were it not for our new approaches and our new policy it would have been impossible to expect such an unprecedented wave of sympathy throughout the world nor such openness on our own part. This speaks for itself, because the atmosphere is changing and we are able to rely, so to speak, on the world community and respond in the same way for our own part.

[Petrovskiy] I would answer that question as follows: In the past when we talked about peaceful coexistence we stressed the fact that peaceful coexistence creates favorable external conditions for accomplishing our domestic tasks. That is beyond question. It seems to me that the new philosophy of peaceful coexistence, with the accent on cooperation and creativity between the states, extends those possibilities. Access is being opened up for our people to the wealth of knowledge and experience which has been amassed by other countries, to involvement in the joint solution of very many problems both global in nature, and also problems with which different states are encountering. In a word, what we are talking about—to use a phrase used by political scientists—is not simply a negative world, a world characterized by the absence of wars. What we are talking about is the fact that a positive world, a world of broad, reciprocal cooperation is becoming a reality, a world of mutual enrichment through each other's experience.

[Dvinin] It remains only for me to thank our guests for taking part and our viewers for their interest in the program. Thank you. All the very best to you.

United States & Canada

U.S. Refuses Comment on Soviet Diplomat

LD1003230689 Moscow TASS in English 2248 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Washington March 11 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Fedyashin:

Representatives of the FBI and the U.S. Department of State refused to comment on a statement of the USSR Embassy in Washington on Thursday and on a statement of USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman Genndiy Gerasimov on Friday in connection with the U.S. authorities actions against Soviet military diplomat Yuriy Pakhtusov. The USA accused him of the activity incompatible with the status of a diplomat and demanded that he be expelled. Spokesman for Washington's department of the FBI, Nick Walsh, stated on Thursday that the Soviet diplomat had allegedly been arrested while receiving secret information from an official employed by a U.S. private company and having access to secret government documents.

Asked by the TASS correspondent on Friday to explain how the Soviet diplomat could receive "secret information" several minutes after leaving his Washington apartment, dressed in slippers and having no documents, and what "secret meeting" could take place in such circumstances, Nick Walsh declared that the FBI insists on its version. He refused to confirm or disprove the embassy report that Pakhtusov had been detained by FBI agents near his apartment. The FBI stated that he had been detained in Virginia, Washington [as received]. Nick Walsh also stated that he could not give either the name of the company mentioned, or its official.

Charles Redman, spokesman for the U.S. Department of State, said, in turn, that member of the staff of the Soviet military attache in Washington had been caught redhanded with goods, but when asked by the TASS correspondent refused to answer what precisely is meant. Neither did he answer Gerasimov's statement that Pakhtusov had been kept for several hours in the FBI department, had not been permitted even to contact the USSR Embassy, and had been offered money to defect. The State Department spokesman limited himself to vague statements and, unlike the Soviet side, had not given any specific information about the circumstances in which Pakhtusov had been detained.

Pakhtusov had not been given an opportunity to present his diplomatic documents, which had been several steps away behind the door to his apartment, had not been allowed to return to his apartment to tell his wife about his detention, had been interrogated for several hours in violation of all standards and had not been permitted to get into contact with the embassy. Neither the Department of State nor the FBI say anything about these circumstances which are habitual tactic of deliberate provocation.

U.S. Diplomats Detained in Syria

LD1003233589 Moscow TASS in English 2327 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Damascus March 11 TASS—The military attache of the U.S. Embassy in Syria, Colonel Clifford R. Ward, and his assistant were detained in one of the suburbs of the Syrian capital, closed to foreigners, while filming several secret installations. This statement was made by a spokesman for the Syrian Foreign Ministry on Friday here.

During the detention which took place on March 3 this year, the topographic maps of the region and cameras with powerful tele-lenses were confiscated from the American diplomats.

U.S. Ambassador Edward Djerejian was immediately summoned to the Syrian Foreign Ministry which demanded explanations for the activity of the military attache of the U.S. Embassy and his assistant, which was incompatible with the status of diplomats.

However, the Syrian Foreign Ministry said in a statement, the U.S. Government had failed to reply satisfactorily to the demand.

Petrovskiy Receives U.S. Ambassador 10 March

LD1003142189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1412 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, 10 Mar (TASS)—Vladimir Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister, today received Jack Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the USSR, at the latter's request. They discussed global problems and the work of international organizations.

Bush Announces Cheney Appointment

PM1203151589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Mar 89 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Richard Cheney Appointed U.S. Defense Secretary"]

[Excerpts] President G. Bush has announced his decision to appoint Republican Congressman Richard Cheney of Wyoming as U.S. defense secretary. The head of the administration made the announcement at a White House news conference held the day after the Senate rejected J. Tower's candidacy by a majority.

Richard Cheney, President Bush said, "is broadly respected as a man of principle... I am convinced that he will be a remarkable leader of our country's Armed Forces." He described the 48-year-old congressman as "a trusted friend and adviser." [passage omitted]

Thye authoritative weekly NATIONAL JOURNAL notes that on foreign policy questions Cheney has held basically conservative positions. In particular he voted against ending the MX ICBM development program, against banning the testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons, and for continuing aid to Nicaraguan counterrevolutionary groupings.

At the White House news conference Bush said that he and R. Cheney share "common agreement" on the "Star wars" program. "There is no doubting that he supports SDI," the President stated. Cheney himself refused to go into details.

WASHINGTON POST Cited on Tower Defeat
PM1003193089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
11 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent A. Blinov report: "A Replacement Will Have To Be Sought: U.S. Senate Refused To Confirm J. Tower in the Post of Pentagon Chief"]

[Excerpts] Washington—The White House attempt to secure John Tower's confirmation as U.S. defense secretary was unsuccessful. On Thursday the Senate, by a majority of votes, refused to approve the President's proposed candidate for the post of head of the Pentagon—the biggest American government department. [passage omitted]

THE WASHINGTON POST describes Bush's clash with the Senate Democrats, which ended in defeat, as a lesson in the operation of a "divided government" (the administration is in the hands of the Republicans, while the Democrats control Congress). This is the first time, the newspaper notes, that the Senate has refused to confirm a candidate proposed by a new president at the beginning of his term. In the entire history of the United States this is only the ninth instance of a negative outcome of the Senate discussion of a candidacy for a cabinet member. The last time it happened was 30 years ago. President Bush is now looking for a new candidate for the post of head of the Pentagon.

Commentator Views U.S. Report on Human Rights
OW1003150489 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 1400 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Shahov commentary from the "World Today" program]

[Text] The U.S. State Department has published another report on human rights in various countries. Shahov, a commentator of this station, has the following comments on the report:

The U.S. State Department is attempting to create the impression that the situation regarding human rights is normal and perfect only in the United States and West European nations. In the eyes of American politicians, all other countries are constantly violating human rights to varying degrees. Moreover, we have noticed the rule that the leaders of a country will be praised for respecting human rights if that country is politically close to the United States. For this reason, in the eyes of Washington, Israeli aggressors who have massacred a large number of Arab people are the most democratic and the most law-abiding people.

Nevertheless, socialist countries have been accused of various types of the worst crimes simply because their social system does not please the U.S. ruling clique. The governments of many developing countries are described as persecuting regimes because they refuse to follow Washington. In addition, U.S. political activists give friendly treatment to foreigners who are regarded by their governments as enemies, and U.S. embassies make arrangements for them to address the U.S. Congress and attend dinners at the White House.

However, ideological dissidents in the United States are cruelly persecuted. On the charge of extremism, they are fired from jobs, included on blacklists, imprisoned, or even murdered. For instance, the famous U.S. human rights fighter Martin Luther King was assassinated. Many other fighters against racism have also been assassinated in the United States. These assassination cases are neither investigated nor the assassins tried. Many antiwar activists in the United States are still locked up in prison. Many labor union leaders in the United States have been illegally punished. All this has happened while U.S. politicians are clamoring about human rights violations in socialist countries and developing countries.

American satirist Mark Twain said some 100 years ago that American democracy was invented by those who violated pledges, those who misused public funds, and those who fathered illegitimate children. He also bitterly predicted that such this sinful innovation would last several hundred years. Facts in various respects show that his prediction was well-founded.

Administration Continues Anti-Panama Course
PM0103154589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
28 Feb 89 Second Edition pp 1,5

[Correspondent Vadim Listov commentary: "U.S.-Panama: No Letup in Pressure"]

[Text] Mexico City, 27 Feb—"The United States will not ease the political and economic pressure on Panama begun by the Reagan administration, even though this policy has not brought us success...." There have been increasingly frequent statements of that kind recently by high-ranking functionaries in the new U.S. Administration who prefer to remain anonymous.

If the matter ended there it would still be a semivictory, but the facts—and the Panamanian press has been citing plenty of them—show that Washington's interference in Panama's internal affairs is acquiring an increasingly ominous character.

As the Panamanian newspaper CRITICA reports, citing representatives of Panama's intelligence and security service, yet another plan aimed at destabilizing the situation in the country was recently exposed.

The plot began to be unraveled in Costa Rica when a police investigation began there into the activity of certain Panamanian opposition figures on that country's territory and established their involvement in the clandestine shipment of arms and ammunition to Panama. Jose Manuel Echevers, a Panamanian businessman, Edwards Wilson Hodgson, a Nicaraguan, and Julio and Eduardo Esquivel, from Costa Rica, were arrested.

News agency correspondents hot on the trail of a "scoop" reported that Echevers is "connected with pro-American groups" opposed to the present Panamanian Government and that Wilson is linked with the Nicaraguan contras. Echevers himself admitted during the investigation that the conspirators had close links with former President Delvalle, whom Washington still considers the "lawful head of Panama." The arrested conspirators testified that representatives of the right-wing Panamanian opposition have been recruiting mercenaries with the intention of turning them into a "crack brigade" for an armed incursion into Panama. As we can see, the U.S. anti-Panamanian course has not only not been filed in the archives by the new administration but, on the contrary, is beginning to appear in a new perspective. Once again we see the "strong-arm methods," the aggressiveness, and the contempt for other countries' national interests.

China

Rogachev Meets Sino-Soviet Border Negotiators

LD1303100789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0915 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, 13 Mar (TASS)—Igor Rogachev, head of the Soviet Government delegation at the Soviet-Chinese border talks, today met the Chinese and Soviet representatives participating in the session of the working group on the western part of the border between the USSR and the PRC.

An examination of border issues in that region began at the session, which took place in Moscow from 20 February to 13 March in a businesslike and constructive atmosphere.

It was agreed that discussion in the working group would continue in Beijing at the end of (?March).

Commentator Views Importance of USSR-PRC Ties

OW1003130689 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Mulatov commentary]

[Text] There has been mounting and keen interest in Soviet-Chinese relations in the United States and other Western countries. Political and press circles in these countries have been actively discussing the forthcoming China visit by Soviet leader Comrade Gorbachev and matters concerning the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations. Our station observer Mulatov writes in this connection:

Soviet-Chinese relations have for various reasons aroused great interest in many countries. First, this is because these two socialist powers have consistently played, and continue to play, an important role in Asian as well as global politics. Second, the Soviet Union and China have opened a new page in their mutual relations, ending an era of estrangement and mistrust. Both sides have been making efforts to establish an entirely new constructive type of goodneighborly, cooperative, and mutually beneficial relations. Clearly, the Soviet Union and China will certainly cooperate in solving questions concerning the Asian region and other (?political) world issues. Third, both the CPSU and CPC have been carrying out a policy of socialist reform aimed at tapping maximum potential.

Moreover, the Soviet Union's basic reform and China's economic reform are very important factors in the entire international situation. In particular, the Soviet Union's new thinking in policy and China's concept of a new international political order are aimed at building a world free from confrontation between different social systems.

The two great socialist powers have stressed that they hope to overcome the tendency of dividing the world into military blocs. The two countries agree that it is abnormal to establish military bases on the territory of other countries. Both the Soviet Union and China stand for nuclear disarmament and support all proposals for establishing nuclear-free zones.

Taking these problems into account, we wish to raise the following question: As the West has pointed out, will the present closeness and harmony between the Soviet Union and China harm the vital interests of other countries? Of course, not. Some people may think that the question itself is a strange one. However, politicians in the West have time and again expressed all kinds of misgivings. According to their logic, closer contact between the two great Communist countries could be harmful to Western interests. I think you will agree that anyone who thinks this way is still influenced by the old principle of creating blocs for carrying out confrontation.

Neither the Soviet Union nor China have any intention of benefiting themselves at the expense of others. Some time ago, when he discussed with Chinese leaders in Beijing Comrade Gorbachev's visit to China, U.S. President Bush expressed his confidence on this matter. In his talks with Chinese leaders, he said the United States welcomed the forthcoming visit of Gorbachev to China, adding that the visit will be conducive to peace and stability.

In this world of interdependence among countries, mutual understanding and good partnership between the Soviet Union and China are as important as the maintenance of a sound and equal relationship between China and the United States. Mutual coordination between the Soviet Union and China in creating a new international political order is as important as continuing the constructive dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States and its partners.

USSR-PRC Ties Will Not Harm Third Countries

OW1003124889 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Nikolayev commentary]

[Text] Today, 1 March, we begin a new special topical program, entitled: The Bridge Leading to the Future. This program will deal with Soviet-Chinese relations and report on the Soviet-Chinese summit meeting scheduled for May this year. Station commentator Nikolayev has the following comment:

I agree with some political observers that the Soviet-Chinese summit meeting scheduled for 15-18 May this year will be an important event in international affairs in 1989. The meeting will be of historic significance for both the Soviet Union and China and lead to complete normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations.

In his speech to working people in Kiev on 23 February, Soviet leader Gorbachev pointed out that a danger and obstacle on the road of peace and progress— misunderstanding and occasional enmity between the two big socialist countries, the Soviet Union and China—has been removed. Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping said that in Soviet-Chinese relations, we must put an end to the past and usher in the future.

New principles of political thinking and new viewpoints on the international political order are deciding the future of Soviet-Chinese relations. A solid foundation for relations between the two countries is peaceful coexistence in the political field and equality and mutual benefit in the field of economy and cooperation. All this was affirmed in the Soviet-Chinese joint communique issued at the end of Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's visit to China. We are convinced that the summit meeting will further consolidate the foundation of new cooperative relations between the Soviet Union and China.

History determines that Soviet and Chinese people should have neighborly relations. Neighbors should live together in harmony, and this has become the appeal of the past several years.

Our two countries are making great efforts to carry out reform. Despite their different national conditions, the two countries have many things in common in economic reform, and this common ground should enable the two socialist giants to increase contacts with each other, enhance mutual understanding, and enrich their relationship with new content.

In other words, the two countries should exchange experience and draw on each other's experience of success and failure. In my opinion, further promoting Soviet-Chinese cooperation is of prime significance. Moreover, neither Moscow nor Beijing will impose its formula of development on the other side.

There is another important thing. Both the Soviet Union and China enjoy the friendship and cooperation of many countries in the world. The full normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations will certainly have an impact on international relations. It is very obvious today that improvement of Soviet-Chinese relations has a good effect on the international atmosphere. Normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations has not and will not hurt any third country. This is the view shared by Moscow and Beijing. Both countries respect all who share friendship and cooperation with them and will not harm their interests.

Soviet Journalist Discusses Sino-Soviet Summit

Denies USSR-PRC 'Collusion'

OW1003131989 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 2 Mar 89

[(Vuyatsov) commentary; first in a planned series of articles by (Vuyatsov) on how the Soviet-Chinese summit will affect "peace and security in Asia and the world"]

[Text] Moscow and Beijing have formally announced that Soviet leader Gorbachev will visit China from 15-18 May to participate in a Soviet-Chinese summit, the first in 30 years since such summits were discontinued. Most observers think that the meeting in Beijing will be historically significant, that it will be a major breakthrough in world politics, and that it will be the most important event this year. People cannot help but raise the question: What effect will this meeting have on Soviet-Chinese relations as well as peace and security in Asia and the world? This station has invited (Vuyatsov), a journalist specializing in international issues, to write several articles on this topic. The following is the first of his articles:

We should first analyze the basic principles governing future Soviet-Chinese relations. Many people are worried that a normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations will make the two big socialist nations return to the allied relationship they shared in the 1950's. However, these worries are baseless if judged on the basis of the development of world politics, on statements made by Soviet and Chinese leaders, and, most important, on the two nations' long-term interests.

The Soviet-Chinese military and political alliance in the 1950's was a product of the comprehensive confrontation between the then socialist and capitalist camps. Politically, the [words indistinct] of Soviet-Chinese relations was then intentionally [words indistinct] in many fields. As a result, a serious split in Soviet-Chinese relations appeared in the late 1950's or early 1960's. This split developed into a wide gap in the 1960's and 1970's. The confrontation between the Soviet Union and China made the Asian situation [words indistinct]. Many countries were, to a certain extent, involved in the confrontation.

Today the Soviet Union and China understand more and more that they cannot return to the relations they had in the past. Soviet and Chinese leaders advocate that the relations between the two countries should be established on the basis of the current international [words indistinct], without causing losses to any third country. They should be established on the basis of unconditional independence, total equality, and noninterference in each other's internal affairs. The two countries should remove past mistakes and misunderstandings, respect reasonable interests, support each other, and exchange experiences with each other. All of these are basic principles that should be observed in future Soviet-Chinese relations. Under the circumstances, it is possible that the traditional friendship and cooperation between the two great neighboring countries will continue to strengthen and develop.

The above (?tacit agreement) also stipulates an appropriate mechanism for cooperation between (?the two parties and the two governments). Trying to scare other nations, some people have maintained that the CPSU and CPC plan to restore relations during the summit—a sign that the two big communist nations will be in collusion with each other. Such a view is not only unreasonable but also vicious. If the [words indistinct] of Soviet-Chinese relations can be decided during the summit, it will be very favorable for various nations in the world and for international security. We can predict that positive changes in Soviet-Chinese relations will, at least, make the old pattern of relations formed in the confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States and between the Soviet Union and China no longer applicable among various Asian nations. The (?change) in Soviet-Chinese relations will become an important element that renders meaningless the confrontation between countries for geographical, political, and ideological reasons.

If we can substitute dialogue, cooperation, and balanced interests for past tensions, this will be the greatest contribution to the establishment of a new order in the world and of a bright future for the people.

Sees Summit Promoting World Peace

OW1103172389 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 3 Mar 89

[(Vuyatsov) commentary; second in a series of articles by (Vuyatsov) on how the Soviet-Chinese summit will affect the Asia-Pacific region and the world]

[Text] The Sino-Soviet summit, the first in 30 years, is scheduled to take place in mid-May. It will bring Sino-Soviet relations to a brand new stage. What impact will this summit have on the Asia-Pacific region and the world? Both politicians and the public are concerned about this question. Yesterday you heard the first article by (Vuyatsov), a reporter specializing in international issues, on this question. Its contents were about the principles of future Sino-Soviet relations. Today you are invited to hear his second article, which deals with the question of the two countries' coordination in safeguarding international security.

(Vuyatsov) writes: The Soviet Union and China, like all other nuclear powers and the UN Security Council's permanent member nations, shoulder a special responsibility for defending peace and maintaining a healthy international situation. If they make common efforts, mankind will have a much greater opportunity to build a nuclear-free, violence-free world and protect its own existence. Both the Soviet Union and China advocate protecting a country's security through disarmament, banning nuclear weapons, and banning nuclear weapons in space. Both countries propose democratization, humanization, and stopping ideological disputes in international relations and denounce hegemonism in world politics.

Both Soviet and Chinese leaders support de-escalating military confrontation in the Asia-Pacific region, eliminating military bases in this area, and building nuclear-free zones. Soviet-U.S. dialogue during the past few years has intensified the two big powers' mutual understanding and produced results in such key issues as peace, security, and promoting global healthiness. Sino-Soviet dialogue can also make numerous constructive contributions to the cause of peace. For example, the Soviet Union and China can coordinate in relaxing the tension on the Korean peninsula, building contacts between South Korea and North Korea, and creating conditions for independence and peaceful unification. The two countries can also effectively cooperate in building a new international economic order, peacefully developing the universe, and protecting the environment. Another sphere in which the two countries' interests coincide with the interests of other countries in this region is to de-escalate military confrontation in the Soviet-Chinese border area step-by-step. It is possible that some relevant agreements will be reached at the forthcoming Soviet-Chinese summit.

As we all know, at a session of the UN General Assembly in New York, Gorbachev declared: The Soviet Union will reduce its military strength in its east and south by 200,000 and 60,000 men respectively. The destruction of Soviet medium-range and short-range missiles in the Asian region is under way. The Soviet Union will also pull out one-third of its army in Mongolia and reorganize its army in the Soviet-Chinese border area into defensive units. As we all know, China has cut its military strength by 1 million men. In addition, the Soviet Union is having a dialogue with China on curtailing the offensive elements in their armed forces, limiting the scope and number of their military exercises, and setting up a system of mutual supervision over the activites of their units that are curtailed and retained. This is a truly satisfying trend because it can create an atmosphere of trust. The elimination of the idea that these two neighboring countries are potential military rivals, a development cherished by both the Soviet and Chinese public, means the saving of large amounts of manpower and enormous amounts of material resources, which can be put to civil uses.

It is very important that military confrontation in the Soviet-Chinese border area be reduced without escalation of military confrontation in other regions of Asia. According to Soviet and Chinese leaders' statement, they will not escalate military confrontation in other regions because what they are doing is disarming, not transferring armies to other places. Thus, Soviet-Chinese military detente can open a road leading to the de-escalation of military confrontation in the entire Asia-Pacific region. For example, we can urge the United States and its allies to reduce their military activities in this region.

U.S. Curbs on PRC UN Diplomats Criticized

OW1003134189 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Nikolayev commentary]

[Text] Friends: Chinese diplomats in the United States have been subjected to increasing discrimination by the U.S. authorities. Yu Mengjia, China's deputy permanent representative at the United Nations, said that it was illegal and unfair for Washington to adopt the regulation to restrict the activities of Chinese personnel at the UN Secretariat from January this year. He made this statement on 7 March when addressing the UN Committee on Relations With the Host Country. Following is a commentary by station commentator Nikolayev.

Last October the U.S. authorities adopted a new regulation restricting the movements of personnel at China's consulate in Chicago. This has caused a great deal of friction in the relations between China and the United States. The Chinese side was compelled to take retaliatory measures by imposing similar restrictions on U.S. personnel at the consulates in Shenyang and Shanghai. At the same time, the Chinese Foreign Ministry expressed its belief that Washington will change its discriminatory attitude toward Chinese diplomats.

However, the U.S. authorities don't seem to have any intention of repenting. Instead, they have embarked on the road of creating further friction. On 25 January the U.S. Government issued an order making it impermissible for staff members of Chinese nationality at the UN Secretariat and their dependents to travel beyond 40 kilometers from New York without prior permission. This U.S. decision came on the heels of the protests lodged by China and the UN secretary general.

At the 7 March meeting, representatives at the UN Committee on Relations With the Host Country, including the representative from the Soviet Union, vehemently criticized, and called for revocation of, the discriminatory measures taken by the U.S. authorities against Chinese diplomats. They also demanded that similar restrictions against other socialist countries be lifted.

The meeting noted that any restriction imposed on foreign diplomats and staff members of the UN Secretariat is bound to have an adverse effect on UN activities. So, what do the U.S. authorities plan to do? It seems they don't intend to change their position. In defiance of the opposition of most members on the UN Committee on Relations With the Host Country, a U.S. spokesman still insisted that the discriminatory actions taken recently by the United States against Chinese diplomats are completely sensible and reasonable.

Taiwan Still 'Most Difficult' Sino-U.S. Problem

OW1003152889 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 1 Mar 89

["Short Commentary" by political commentator (Roginov): "Taiwan and Sino-U.S. Relations"]

[Text] Seventeen years have elapsed since the publication of the Sino-U.S. Shanghai Communique. The event marked an important milestone in the course of the gradual normalization of Sino-U.S. relations.

It was in the Shanghai Communique that the United States formally acknowledged for the first time since the founding of the PRC that Taiwan was an inalienable part of China. However, in practice the Taiwan question has not been thoroughly settled according to the Chinese people's wishes and interests.

According to Bush, the incumbent President of the United States, who paid a short visit to China last week, the United States acknowledges that the Taiwan question is important to the Chinese Government and people.

However, today, 17 years after the signing of the Shanghai Commmunique, the Taiwan question is still the most complex and difficult problem in Sino-U.S. relations. In that 17 years the United States has many times used the Taiwan question to interfere in China's internal affairs. Not long after establishing relations with the PRC, the United States adopted a new Taiwan Relations Act with Taiwan, allowing the United States not only to preserve its special relations with the Taipei regime, but also to act as a political guardian and military guarantor for Taiwan. To put it mildly, this situation can neither help resolve the Sino-U.S. difference on the Taiwan question, nor be conducive to the reunification of the PRC and its Taiwan Province.

In an article on President Bush's recent visit to China, SHIJIE JINGJI DAOBAO, a Chinese journal, pointed out: To gradually eliminate Sino-U.S. differences, it is necessary for the United States not to set any more obstacles on the road toward China's reunification, such as providing Taiwan with more weapons. At the same time, the journal also points out that the position of the U.S. Government and Congress on the Taiwan question is in fact identical, and that it is difficult to expect any new changes in this position any time soon.

More Chinese Women To Study in USSR

OW1203144289 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] According to a statement made by a responsible person of the International Liaison Department of the All-China Women's Federation, this year will see more activists of the Chinese women's movement sent to the Soviet Union to study and engage in advanced studies. Since 1987 the Soviet Women's Committee has supplied Chinese women with stipends to study and engage in advanced studies in the Soviet Union. Over the past 2 years, nine Chinese women have used the stipends to study in the Soviet Union.

The All-China Women's Federation has recommended to the Soviet side a namelist of women activists to come to the Soviet Union to study and engage in advanced studies at institutes of higher learning this year.

Northeast Asia

DPRK Spokesman Urges Halt to 'Team Spirit'

LD1303091189 Moscow TASS in English 0833 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Text] Pyongyang, March 13 TASS—A spokesman of the DPRK Ministry of the People's Armed Forces demanded today that the American-South Korean "Team Spirit-89" military exercises should be stopped and all U.S. troops pulled out from the south of the Korean peninsula, together with their nuclear arms.

The statement, circulated here today, rejects U.S. explanations that the annual "Team Spirit" maneuvers are "defensive." It stresses their "offensive and provocative nature." These exercises, the spokesman noted, create obstacles to the development of the beginning dialogue between North and South Korea, aggravate tension in the peninsula, are a "rehearsal for the pre-emptive strike at the DPRK on the ground, in the air and at sea."

'Violations' of Japan Nonnuclear Policy Viewed

OW1103135789 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Dmitriyev commentary]

[Text] The Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons [NPT] went into effect 19 years ago, on 5 March 1970. In this regard, Moscow Radio Commentator Dmitriyev writes as follows:

In an interview with a major American television network in late February, former U.S. Ambassador to Japan Reischauer said Japan should not become a nation that possesses nuclear weapons. Of course, former Ambassador Reischauer is aware that Japan is one of the 137 nations that has signed the NPT. According to this treaty, the nations possessing nuclear weapons should not provide other nations with nuclear weapons, and the nations without nuclear weapons should not try to acquire them. If former Ambassador Reischauer feels it necessary to once again call on Japan not to become a nation possessing nuclear weapons, it is probably because not all the Japanese people think Japan should remain a nation without nuclear weapons. The forces opposing the new [words indistinct] became most influential when Japan joined the NPT as its 96th member in 1976.

The major argument then arose from the observation that the treaty was signed for the purpose of strengthening the monopoly of nuclear weapons by a number of the so-called nuclear-arms possessing nations. However, it is quite apparent that the world has not experienced a (?nuclear catastrophe) as of this day, thanks mainly to the NPT. Just imagine a situation in which the number of nations with nuclear arms has increased from just a few to several dozen, in which it is considered natural to possess nuclear weapons, and in which the first step has been taken toward the use of nuclear weapons. To appraise the NPT treaty, it is sufficient to imagine the scenario above. The treaty can also be appraised from the fact that as a result of signing the NPT, which strictly limits the number of nations possessing nuclear weapons, there are good prospects now for successfully reducing the number of nuclear weapons. Precisely herein lies the NPT's historical significance.

Judging from the peace-oriented constitution and from the historical experiences in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, it was only natural for Japan to join in this treaty. In a way, it can be said that when the treaty was approved and went into effect, Japan had not only put its anti-nuclear policy into words, but had actually taken action to carry out this policy. History proves that Japan has taken a correct action in rejecting the road towards becoming a nuclear arms possessing nation. In particular, there has been a tendency in the international community during the past few years for governments of various nations to be evaluated by their contributions to the efforts to reduce the nuclear menace and not by their strength in either nuclear or conventional weapons.

To further consolidate this policy, the Japanese Diet adopted the three principles of nonnuclear policy in 1974. Nonetheless, it is rather regrettable that quite a few cases violating the three nonnuclear principles have occurred recently. One of the most serious violations is calls by American battleships at Japanese ports. Nevertheless, these three nonnuclear principles are still in force, as they were in the past. As long as there is a guarantee that the three nonnuclear principles, just like the NPT, will be [words indistinct], this will not only strengthen Japan's security but also bring its political role in the world's anti-war and anti-nuclear movements into effect.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Philippine Trade Secretary Visiting USSR

HK1103051589 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] Philippine Trade and Industry Secretary Jose Concepcion continued his visit to the Soviet Union with a wreath-laying ceremony at Lenin's Mausoleum in Moscow's Red Square today. He then held talks with Konstantin Katushev, the Soviet minister for foreign economic relations. Both sides expressed their desire to expand bilateral trade and promote joint ventures in the Soviet Far East. Consequently, Deputy Trade and Industry Secretary Raul Boncan will visit the Far Eastern port city of Nakhodka today in order to undertake a concrete study of the situation there.

Philippine Science Secretary Views Relations

HK1303064989 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 12 Mar 89

[Interview with Philippine Science and Technology Secretary Antonio Arizabal by Radio Moscow correspondent; date, place of interview not given]

[Text] [Interviewer] Mr Arizabal, what are the aims of your visit to the Soviet Union?

[Arizabal] Our aims encompass several things. First, strengthening relations between the Philippines and the Soviet Union so we can have a better exchange of information, and proposing plans for Philippine students to study here, as well as for your students to study in the Philippines. Additionally, we need assistance on various types of technology required to streamline our industries, our medical programs, etc.

[Interviewer] The past year has seen a big change in relations between our two nations. More frequent visits have been made by Philippine delegations to the USSR, and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze as well as a delegation of the Soviet Union's Supreme Soviet, headed by Valentina Tereshkova, have visited Manila. What new perspectives have been opened by this exchange of views at higher levels between our two countries?

[Arizabal] The visits to the Philippines by top-level officials accomplished much to strengthen our relations and ensure a fine future for our relations. In my view, what will follow will be cooperative accords between our two countries, especially in the fields of technology, culture, education, etc.

[Interviewer] In your opinion, what have been the results of your visits with Soviet officials here?

[Arizabal] We have been able to improve our understanding of various aspects of each other's culture, and we were able to discuss scientific and technological matters with officials in your Academy of Science. We therefore hope to receive assistance from your country in improving our scientific development, obtaining advanced technology for important industrial projects, and learning about new machinery and materials.

[Interviewer] What cooperative ventures in the field of meteorology were launched as a result of your consultations and the accord signed with the Soviet State Committee on Meteorology?

[Arizabal] Your country is known for its expertise in the field of meteorology. So we are hoping to obtain assistance in this field in order to minimize the damage caused by typhoons, since such storms hit our country 20-22 times each year. It would be of great benefit if we could learn to take preventive measures against these typhoons.

[Interviewer] In which other fields, in your view, would cooperation between our two countries be most successful?

[Arizabal] I believe that because of the changes occurring in our respective countries, cooperation between our two countries will increase greatly, thus strengthening our relations.

[Interviewer] Recently a free trade zone was set up in the Soviet Far East. Will this improve cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Philippines?

[Arizabal] In my opinion, this is a very important factor in promoting increased relations.

[Interviewer] Recently an article appeared in the JOURNAL OF COMMERCE about the role played by the Soviet Union in the Asia-Pacific region. The article quoted (Steven Burns), a Western delegate, at a conference on economic cooperation in the Asia-Pacific area. He said that most of the countries in the region cannot see what economic contributions the Soviet Union can make. What is your view on this issue?

[Arizabal] I think there is some truth in what they say about few people knowing what the Soviet Union can do to help countries in the Pacific region. However, as shown by our visit here, our eyes have been opened as to the many possibilities that exist with regard to better relations with the Soviet Union. We believe the Soviet Union can contribute greatly to countries in the Pacific area.

[Interviewer] What perspectives have you gained for future relations between the Philippines and the Soviet Union?

[Arizabal] We are hoping that we will obtain assistance from the Soviet Union on matters of science, technology, medicine, etc., which will enhance relations between our two countries, particularly in the economic field. We could also engage in the export of our respective products in order to improve our economies.

[Interviewer] Mr Arizabal, you have visited the Soviet Union many times before. You have been to Leningrad and to the star city [as heard] near Moscow. Can you tell us anything else about your impressions of the Soviet Union and its people.

[Arizabal] The Soviet Union has a history that is quite admirable, as well as complicated. I can say that through these visits our understanding of the background and history of your people has increased. Our knowledge of your country has indeed broadened. We have seen many wonderful things in Moscow and Leningrad, various aspects of culture. In your space center we have seen the progress you have made in space technology, which is well known around the world.

[Interviewer] We hope that the work done by the Soviet-Philippine Friendship Association will improve relations between our two countries so that Filipinos will know more about the Soviet Union.

[Arizabal] That is something we can look forward to. Our visits are just the beginning of even closer relations between our peoples.

Philippine Power Shortage, Soviet Offer Viewed

HK1203065989 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Anatoliy Aleksandrov commentary]

[Text] The electricity shortage in the Philippines has worsened recently, and this is nowhere more true than in Luzon, which consumes three-fourths of the total amount of electric power generated in the country. In many of the country's factories, shift work has been introduced to cope with the power shortage. Consumption of electricity is outstripping the generation of electricity.

It was this urgent concern about the power shortage that led to the construction of the Bataan Nuclear Power Plant, costing the country almost $2 billion. Yet the entire plant had to be abandoned because of the excessive number of technical flaws permitted by the American Westinghouse company. Countless accidents took place even in the early stages of construction, but the worst problem was the undeniable violation of radiation security regulations as laid down by the International Atomic Energy Agency. Philippine newspapers have alleged that Westinghouse committed the violations because, having paid out huge bribes to the Marcos administration, it felt it could get away with them. Indeed, compared to the country's total foreign debt of $29 billion, the $2 billion that went into the construction of the nuclear power plant is shocking. At the moment, the Philippine Government is trying to recover the amount from the American company.

Whatever comes out of this issue, the power shortage remains unresolved. A primary concern of the Philippine National Power Corporation is the large amount of electricity consumed by the U.S. military bases, namely Clark Field and Subic Bay. The overwhelming electricity shortage problem, in turn, slows down the production of export products, of which the country is in dire need. Some companies are known to have set up their own generators.

Not surprisingly, the Philippine Government is looking keenly for alternative sources of energy. It is presently studying a Soviet proposal to set up a coal-operated thermal power plant in the southern Philippines. The realization of this Soviet proposal could help alleviate the acute electricity shortage in the country.

PRK's Envoy to USSR Views Regional Developments

PM1303121989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[Special correspondent P. Tsvetov interview with Hor Nam Hong, PRK ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the USSR, under the rubric "Our Interviews": "In Favor of Further Contacts"; date of interview not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Hor Nam Hong, PRK ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the USSR, recently returned to Moscow. He took part in the second informal meeting in Indonesia as a member of the PRK delegation. Our special correspondent P. Tsvetov asked him to answer a number of questions.

[Tsvetov] Comrade Ambassador, in your opinion, what are the results of the second informal meeting in Jakarta?

[Hor Nam Hong] This time there were signs of extremely broad agreement on a concrete solution to the main questions of the Cambodian problem's external aspects. There were signs of a more definite and detailed approach to these aspects compared to the last meeting. This was reflected in the declaration on a consensus made by Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, chairman of the Jakarta informal meeting, the substance of which has been summarized in the press. Incidentally, the very title of this document indicates the progress that has been made. The final document at the first informal meeting was entitled "Declaration by the Chairman of the Jakarta Informal Meeting," whereas the current statement is entitled "Declaration on a Consensus."

[Tsvetov] The discussion of the internal questions of a Cambodian settlement was the most difficult in Jakarta. How is it proposed to conduct talks between the four Cambodian sides in the future?

[Hor Nam Hong] The participants in the meeting recommended that the Cambodian sides meet within 4 months in order to find a solution to the internal aspects of the Cambodian problem and then submit a report to the meeting's chairman. On this premise, the PRK will propose to the other sides that the talks be resumed in the near future. We are going to this meeting with feelings of sincere goodwill, openness, and readiness for compromise.

[Tsvetov] Over the last few months a new situation has taken shape around Cambodia. The Vietnamese-Chinese dialogue has resumed. How, in your opinion, would people in the PRK react to direct contacts with the PRC?

[Hor Nam Hong] The events of the last few months have developed rapidly toward detente, the normalization of relations between the states of the Asia-Pacific region, peaceful coexistence, and regional cooperation.

The PRK can only welcome such a train of events.

We have a similar attitude toward direct contacts between the PRK and China. Such meetings would make it possible to speed up the current process of establishing peace in Cambodia and would restore the age-old friendship between the Cambodian and Chinese peoples.

PRK Call for 4-Party Cambodia Summit Backed

BK1003124589 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Aleksey Nikolayev commentary]

[Text] The news agency SPK reported that Comrade Hun Sen, head of government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea [PRK], sent a letter to Samdech Sihanouk, leader of the opposition parties, proposing that preparations for a summit meeting of the four Cambodian parties involved in the conflict be started.

Our commentator, Aleksey Nikolayev, has this comment:

In his proposal, Comrade Hun Sen noted the urgency for efforts to speed up the settlement of the Cambodian problem's internal aspect, which has now become a first priority task, as—generally speaking—the external aspect of the problem has already been solved. As proof, we can cite, for instance, the outcome of the informal meeting held recently in Jakarta to discuss the Cambodian problem. Based on a consensus, the meeting's participants—that is, the representatives of the PRK, of the three opposition Khmer groups, and of Vietnam, Laos, and the ASEAN countries—unanimously agreed that the international aspect of the solution must link together the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia before 30 September this year, the cessation of military aid to the Polpotists and other opposition groups, the cessation of foreign interference in the PRK's internal affairs, and an international guarantee preventing the return to power of the genocidal Pol Pot regime and the eruption of a civil war. The parties also agreed on an international control mechanism, and proposed the convening of an international conference on Cambodia. Of course, more discussions and exchanges of views will have to be conducted on each issue separately. However, there is no question that great progress has been made.

What is important now is to bring about some development in the effort to achieve national reconciliation among the warring Cambodian parties. It is necessary for them to make concessions, with the interests of the Cambodian people at heart. In this connection, the PRK has proposed the creation of a quadripartite national reconciliation council, to be headed by Samdech Sihanouk, as an interim body to solve the existing problems. The four Cambodian parties have decided that the differences in views left over from Jakarta will be discussed in future talks.

It is obvious, in the opinion of Phnom Penh, that the sooner the dialogue is resumed, the better. For this reason, in his letter to Samdech Sihanouk, Comrade Hun Sen proposed that the working commission of representatives of the PRK and representatives of the three opposition Khmer groups be convened again in order to make preparations for a summit meeting of all Cambodian parties involved in the conflict. Practically speaking, such direct meetings can only benefit the search for a solution to the Cambodian problem.

'Progress' in Thai-Soviet Relations Viewed

BK1203074589 Moscow in Thai to Thailand 1100 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Station commentary on the anniversary of the establishment of Soviet-Thai diplomatic relations]

[Text] Frankly speaking, there were minimal activities in Soviet-Thai relations for quite some time for various reasons, and some progress has been made only recently. Contacts between the Soviet Union and Thailand have increased in various fields. It can be said that dialogues between the two countries have begun to bear fruit for both sides.

This kind of progress cannot come right out of the blue. Foreign Minister Sitthi Sawetsila said during his official visit to the Soviet Union in May 1987 that this progress originated from the new international policy of the Soviet Union laid down by President Gorbachev. The Thai leadership appears to have understood this new Soviet policy. This understanding is not only limited to the Thai leadership. In December 1988, Thammasat University hosted a seminar on Thai-Soviet relations as part of the program to publicize Soviet personalities in Thailand. Seminar participants highly appraised President Gorbachev's role, which promotes strengthening of relations between the countries of Asia and the Pacific.

They suggested that the relationship with the Soviet Union should be further promoted, and it appears that there are considerable opportunities to achieve this.

It is to be recalled that friendly relations between Thailand and the Soviet Union are rooted in customs dating back several centuries. The important thing is that the two countries have similar views on major issues, as evidenced during the summit of their leaders. The two countries share a common interest in bringing durable peace and international security to the Asia-Pacific region. The Thai side supports the Soviet peace initiatives, while the Soviet Union understands the ASEAN idea of transforming Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, freedom, and neutrality free from nuclear weapons. President Gorbachev has said the Soviet Union highly appraises ASEAN's independent role in rectifying global and regional problems.

This Soviet appraisal is accurate, taking into account current Thai efforts aimed at accelerating a settlement of the Cambodian problem and transforming the battlefield in Southeast Asia into a marketplace.

The current Thai leaders have no bias in their search for stronger trade with socialist countries. The Thai private sector feels that trade with socialist countries will help stabilize the Thai economy in the face of market competition, the decline in the prices of raw materials, and Western countries resorting to trade protectionism as their main policy.

During the Soviet-Thai negotiations in May in Moscow, both sides gave great emphasis to the search for opportunities to strengthen their trade and economic cooperation. It is to be expected that it would be too soon to detail the concrete forms and measures toward such cooperation now, but the current restructuring program in the Soviet Union will provide a strong impetus for it. Several of the obstructions that formerly impeded trade between the two countries have been eliminated. There has been a search for new ways to promote bilateral trade, such as the farsighted proposal for forming joint Thai-Soviet investment firms. Thailand has proposed joint ventures in big forest industry, fishing, and livestock projects. Such proposals certainly merit further consideration. The important fact is that a favorable trend has been established and, therefore, both sides should promote it as much as possible in the trade sector as well as in other fields.

Near East & South Asia

Government Statement on 'Interference' in Afghanistan

LD1103173389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1530 GMT 11 Mar 89

["Soviet Government Statement: Urgent"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 11 Mar (TASS)—President Najibullah of the Republic of Afghanistan appealed on 10 March to the UN secretary general and to the USSR and United States as guarantors of the Geneva accords on the question of the escalation of external interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, a question fraught not only with increased bloodshed within Afghanistan itself, but also with increased tension on a regional and international scale.

In connection with these appeals, the Soviet Government deems it essential to state the following.

About a month has passed since the day the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan was concluded. The withdrawal was effected in strict accordance with the timetables and schedule determined by the Geneva accords on Afghanistan. The Soviet Union's adherence to its obligations under those agreements has been highly valued by the international community and by the United Nations organization.

It would seem that every opportunity has now been created for both the legitimate government of Afghanistan and the opposition to transfer the Afghan settlement to a peaceful footing and work out mutually acceptable compromises and political solutions with the aim of overcoming internal Afghan differences. Nonetheless, not only is the tension of the situation in Afghanistan not lessening, it is increasing all the more. The futile, fratricidal war of Afghans against Afghans is becoming more bitter and taking on increasingly wider proportions.

Thus, it is quite evident that the causes of the bloodshed in no way lay in the Soviet military presence, as those who thereby tried to conceal their own ignoble role in making the situation within Afghanistan worse have endeavored to portray. In spite of the Geneva accords, the causes lay and still lie in unending external interference in the Afghans' internal affairs, the scale of which has sharply increased following the withdrawal of Soviet troops. The armed Afghan opposition, spurred on and encouraged by certain political and military circles of Pakistan, the United States, Saudi Arabia, and other countries, and ignoring all reasonable appeals from the republic's government for national reconciliation, has taken a line of exclusively military methods of solution and of seizing power by force. Its creation in Pakistan of what is called "a transitional Afghan government" merely deepens confrontation and leads to escalation of the bloodshed.

The Soviet Government fully shares the concern for the destiny of an Afghan settlement stated in the appeals by President Najibullah of Afghanistan. The Geneva accords are being crudely flouted. It is not enough that the entire infrastructure of interference has been kept effectively intact on Pakistani territory, where the headquarters of opposition groupings, the camps and training centers of the fighting groups and terrorists, and staging posts are functioning. It is not enough that the transfer of arms, including armor, ammunition, and manpower, from Pakistan to Afghanistan is proceeding openly in full flow.

Pakistani troops are directly participating in combat operations on the side of the Afghan opposition. There are many disguised Pakistani officers among the armed opposition detachments. Pakistan's direct military presence is observed particularly actively in the area of Jalalabad, whose capture the Afghan opposition links with arrogant plans for accommodating its "interim government" there.

Over 500 Pakistanis from among the territorial troops (the so-called "malishi") have been participating in operations on the Towr Kham-Jalalabad road alone. Eight hundred "malishi" have arrived in the area of the Afghan settlement of Graziabad. Pakistan Army helicopters are delivering ammunition and arms there. The list of such examples can be continued. The military activeness of the armed detachments connected with Pakistan is directed against Soviet territory, too. Literally just a few days ago a Soviet border detail was fired upon in a district of the Tajik SSR bordering on Afghanistan.

The Soviet Union, as one of the guarantors of the Geneva ccords, cannot remain indifferent and close its eyes to the attempts to ignore these accords, to the fact that one of the participants is being subjected to naked aggression. In this connection we call on the UN secretary general, under whose auspices the Geneva accords were concluded, and also on the United States, which signed the declaration on international guarantees, to take the most urgent and effective measures in order to put an end to foreign intervention in Afghanistan and thereby implement the Geneva accords in full. It is finally time to put an end to the bloodshed and give the Afghan people the possibility of finding peace, returning to constructive labor, and living in accordance with one's traditions and customs and in peace and friendship with one's neighbors.

The Soviet Union, consistently backing the achievement of a settlement inside Afghanistan by means of political talks, most resolutely condemns the actions of Pakistan and the "Alliance of Seven" connected with it, actions directed at stirring up armed conflict in Afghanistan, and demands their immediate cessation. The Soviet Government declares that, continuing to adhere to the Geneva accords, it will seek to achieve their real implementation and fulfill its obligations under the bilateral Soviet-Afghan treaties, which are called on to protect the sovereignty and independence of Afghanistan from encroachments from outside.

In this connection, the Soviet Government stresses firmly that all responsibility for the possible serious consequences of continuing the war in Afghanistan lies on those who, by their shortsighted and unrealistic policy, are facilitating the continuation of dissension among Afghans and pursuing expansionist aims in relation to the neighboring country.

Najibullah Sends Message to Gorbachev, Bush

LD1103115289 Moscow TASS in English 1125 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] Kabul March 11 TASS—Afghan President Najibullah has sent a message to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President George Bush, whose countries are guarantors of the Geneva accords on Afghanistan.

The message said that the implementation of a plan for large-scale armed attacks on a number of border cities in east Afghanistan was started several days ago and that Pakistani Armed Forces are taking a direct part in these actions.

Numerous Afghan opposition groups with up-to-date heavy armaments crossed into Nangarhar Province from Pakistan and are now conducting a large-scale offensive in the vicinity of the city of Jalalabad. They are supported by Pakistani commandos and malishes (armed tribal groups).

Besides, big units of the Pakistani Army have been moved into some areas bordering on Afghanistan, where they are being concentrated in preparation for an attack.

This creates a serious and real threat to peace and security in the region and the risk of a bigger military conflict, the message said.

The Afghan president urged the guarantors of the Geneva accords to immediately take necessary measures and use every opportunity to prevent a further deterioration of the situation.

Najibullah Sends Message to UN Secretary General

LD1103165389 Moscow TASS in English 1623 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] Kabul March 11 TASS—Afghan President Najibullah has sent a message to UN Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar saying that a dangerous situation has been arising around Afghanistan as a result of the irresponsible policy of the Pakistani Government, which continues to build up armed aggression and interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs. The destinies of peace and stability in the region are endangered. The president points to the possible serious damage that can be inflicted on the Geneva accords. The Geneva accords and, particularly, their provisions on the termination of Pakistan's armed interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan have been totally flouted, the message says. The provisions of some UN declarations and decisions are violated in the most flagrant manner.

The official political course and practical actions by Pakistan and the U.S.A. are clearly at variance with the process of ensuring peace and stability in and around Afghanistan.

Pakistan's aggression and interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan are absolutely obvious for the entire world community. Afghanistan has sent 291 notes to the UN Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan citing 2,706 cases of such interference.

The world community is fully aware that under the influence of Pakistani authorities, particularly of the military intelligence agency in Rawalpindi, a Consultative Council from Pakistan-based Afghan opposition groups was cobbled together. At present Islamabad is seeking international recognition for the unlawful government, formed by the self-styled "council", which from the very beginning was resolutely rejected by the people of Afghansitan, including several opposition groups.

At present Pakistan is exerting efforts to set up the mentioned "government" on Afghan territory with the help of its Armed Forces and malishas (armed tribal groups). To this end, units of the Pakistani Army are being redeployed along the border with Afghanistan, covering large areas. Plans are being hatched to capture Afghan border cities, including Jalalabad, Khowst and Qandahar. For several days now a large number of opposition groups, armed with modern weapons, have been infiltrated from Pakistan into Nangarhar Province. A major offensive thrust was launched by opposition forces on Jalalabad with the direct assistance and participation of Pakistani commandos and malishas.

Twenty units of the Pakistani Armed Forces are now being concentrated in the areas of Bajaur, Nawagai, Mahdkut and Chilral [preceding two placenames as received]. In the past three months Pakistani helicopter gunships made 20 raids into Afghan territories bringing Pakistani advisors and heads of extremist groups.

Thirty planes are in a state of combat readiness at the airfield in Bahawalpur. Their crews from among Afghan opposition were trained in the U.S.A. to take part in combat operations inside Afghanistan after the capture of one of the border cities.

The president asked the UN secretary-general to use all possibilities and prestige of the United Nations in order to prevent the exacerbation of the situation, to urge the sides that signed the Geneva agreement to abide by their commitments.

The message also asks the secretary-general to give an immediate instruction to the UN inspection teams to conduct permanent inspections in the border areas, especially in Nawagai, Towr Kham, Terimangal [placename as received] and Chaman, and to immediately inform on the results to the sides that are involved in Geneva accords.

Afghanistan Protests Pakistani 'Aggression'

LD1103164189 Moscow TASS in English 1606 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] Kabul March 11 TASS—On Saturday the charge d'affaires ad interim of Pakistan was summoned to the Afghan Foreign Ministry where a resolute protest in connection with acts of armed aggression against Afghanistan was stated to him.

The protest statement says, in particular, that last Friday four helicopters of the Pakistani Air Force, having intruded into Afghan air space, brought a group of American, Pakistani, and Arab military instructors to Ghaziabad area and Shinwar [place name as received] District of Nangarhar Province. On the same day a fighter plane of the Pakistani Air Force made a reconnaissance flight over Lalpur District of the same province.

The Afghan Foreign Ministry demanded that Pakistan immediately cease hostile actions running counter to the universally accepted norms of international law and the provisions of the Geneva Agreements.

Otherwise, the protest statement emphasises, the entire responsibility for the dangerous consequences of such actions will rest with the Pakistani side.

Afghanistan Protests Saudi Arabian Interference

LD1103193589 Moscow TASS in English 1906 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] Kabul March 11 TASS—The Afghan Foreign Ministry issued a statement on Saturday expressing the Afghan Government's protest over Saudi Arabia's interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

Saudi authorities which for 10 years supplied weapons to the detachments of the intractable opposition, the statement points out, declared their recogition of the rebel "government", cobbled together with the direct involvement of the Pakistani secret service. Thus Saudi Arabia took on itself the responsibility for instigating mujahidin to continue the bloodshed in Afghanistan. Such actions, which run counter to the UN charter and resolutions of the 43rd session of the UN General Assembly, as well as to the Geneva accords, will entail the most serious consequences, the document stresses.

Afghan Rebel Attack on Jalalabad 'Repulsed'

PM1103174089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[IZVESTIYA press service roundup: "Attack on Jalalabad Repulsed"]

[Text] The Afghan Government Army has rebuffed an attempt by the armed opposition to storm the city of Jalalabad in the southeast of the country. An Afghan Foreign Ministry spokesman stated that no position in the Jalalabad region was surrendered to the rebels. All the regions around the city that came under attack, in particular the airport, as well as the Kabul-Jalalabad Highway, are now under government control.

Foreign Ministry spokesman Nabi Amani also refuted the rebels' claims to have seized the Samarkheyl [place name as received] military post 10 km from Jalalabad. "Extremists launched a hail of rocket shells on Samarkheyl, but the Armed Forces rebuffed their attack," he said.

The opposition in Islamabad was unable to refute the Afghan Foreign Ministry spokesman's statements. It only said that the fighting is continuing around Jalalabad airport.

INFORMATION that has reached the editorial office enables us to reconstruct the scenario of the rebels' attack on Jalalabad. The attack was begun on Monday morning by the combined forces of formations of the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan"—the factions of G. Hikmatyar and Y. Khalis. With artillery support, they managed to advance 1.5-4.5 km into the Army's defenses in the south and southeast salients.

Combat operations became particularly fierce after Pakistani tribal militias and a number of military advisers from Pakistan became involved. The situation was further exacerbated by the fact that extremist detachments operating along the Kabul-Jalalabad highway made repeated attempts to cut this important supply artery. But in the last 24 hours the government army succeeded in bringing along this road a large column carrying weapons, ammunition, and reserve combat units.

Thanks to artillery strikes and air operations, by the evening of 7 March government troops stopped the rebel offensive, and on the following day they began to push them back and regained the lost positions.

Experts in Islamabad, REUTER reports, believe that the rebels made a mistake in carrying out a strike at Jalalabad airport without proper preparation. "The rebels lost their chance," one expert told REUTER.

Kabul radio reports that in the course of combat operations more than 1,500 mujahidin were killed. According to the Foreign Ministry spokesman's statement, the government Army hopes to rid the surrounding areas of Jalalabad of attackers entirely in the next 3 days.

The **VICTORY** for the government troops will, by all appearances, force the opposition to postpone a session of its "government" which was planned at the end of this week not far from Jalalabad.

The previous day, the so-called "transitional mujahidin government" was recognized by Saudi Arabia.

For a long time Riyadh has been giving considerable financial and other aid to the irreconcilable opposition. One of the parties in the Peshawar "alliance"—the "Islamic Union for the Liberation of Afghanistan," whose leader Rasul Sayyaf is "premier" of the "transitional government"—operates under its direct influence and control. It is well-known that even Pakistan, on whose territory the mujahidin "government" was formed, has thus far refrained from recognizing it.

RECENTLY, AP reports from Washington, a number of American political organizations have called on the U.S. Government to back the moderate parties in the Peshawar "Alliance of Seven" and weaken the influence of Islamic fundamentalists among the armed opposition.

The organization "Asia Watch" has criticized the White House administration for being passive and giving Pakistan the opportunity to divert the main bulk of secret weapons deliveries to the Muslim fundamentalist party headed by G. Hikmatyar, former favorite of the late Pakistani President Ziaul Haq.

"The United States should not help this anti-Western radical in his desire to achieve the dominant role," another organization, the "Heritage Foundation," points out.

The United States is afraid that the situation in the armed opposition camp could escape its control, and that in the event of the fundamentalists coming to power, Afghanistan will go the way of Iran.

FOR ITS PART, the Najibullah government is taking steps to make contact with field commanders who also do not acknowledge the decisive role of the fundamentalists. REUTER stresses that the passage of numerous columns carrying food through Salang was possible thanks to an informal government treaty with the group led by Ahmad Shah Ma'sud, who controls a large section of the Hayratan-Kabul highway.

BAKHTAR has reported that in the last 24 hours fighting between Afghan Armed Forces units and formations of the irreconcilable opposition has continued in the district of Tor Kotal [place name as received] in Qandahar Province. Some 27 extremists have been killed and dozens of rebels wounded. In the course of military operations, three Afghan Army servicemen have died and two have been wounded. The enemy has suffered appreciable losses of manpower in Baghlan Province.

Despite the continuing combat operations, refugees are continuing to return to Qandahar Province. Last Wednesday 140 Afghan citizens returned to this region of Afghanistan after living in Pakistan for a long time. The local authorities provided the repatriates with the necessary material assistance and supplied motor transport for the onward journey to places of permanent residence.

Latest

While the "combined forces" of the opposition have been trying to storm Jalalabad, at the opposite end of the country, in Herat Province, armed clashes have flared up with new force between rival groupings of the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" and the "Islamic Society of Afghanistan." According to reports reaching Kabul, Gulbuddin Hikmatyar's fighters have taken captive 150 members of the "Islamic Society of Afghanistan" grouping. People on both sides were killed and wounded in the crossfire.

Opposition's 'Interim Government' Session Flops

LD1103115689 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] Stiff resistance on the part of Afghan Government troops and their successful operations have frustrated the plans by what is known as the irreconcilable opposition to enable what it claims to be its interim government to hold a session in Jalalabad.

These plans were broadly publicized, and many Western reporters were invited to attend the session. However, a Radio Moscow observer says, the pompous scheme turned into a farce. The imposter government held a session not in Jalalabad but at a base of an armed opposition grouping near the Pakistani border. Only 10 out of the 168 members of the administration formed by the opposition were present. The session reiterated the intention to continue the war in Afghanistan.

'Fierce' Fighting Continues Around Jalalabad

PM1303115589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[IZVESTIYA press service report under the rubric "Panorama of International Events": "Afghanistan: Interference Leads to Exacerbation of the Conflict"]

[Text] REUTER reports from Kabul that President Najibullah of Afghanistan has sent messages to the world's prominent politicians, state leaders, and international organizations. "Pakistan's interference and its assistance in the form of advisers, tribal militia soldiers, and weapons to antigovernment armed formations constitutes a tremendous threat and could lead to an expansion of the conflict," the letter to M. Gorbachev and G. Bush reads, REUTER reports.

In another message, sent to UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, Najibullah asks for special UN monitoring groups to be dispatched to Afghanistan to assess the scale of Pakistan's interference and the general military situation and then to compile a special report for the UN Security Council.

Najibullah's message to Perez de Cuellar points out, for instance, that the insurgents have set up a full-scale air base with the assistance of the Pakistani military near Bahawalpur City in Pakistan, where some 30 aircrews are stationed, ready to fly their combat aircraft to any destination in Afghanistan assigned to them.

Alarm at the influence of Pakistan's military intelligence service on the situation in Afghanistan is also contained in a roundup of international press reports on events in Afghanistan published by the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE. A report from Peshawar by a correspondent of THE WASHINGTON POST reads, for instance:

According to reports of representatives of the opposition and Western diplomats resident in Pakistan, the Pakistani military intelligence service is trying to establish Afghan fundamentalists as the leading political force in postwar Afghanistan, and it controls the distribution among them of U.S. military and other aid.

Western diplomatic observers are expresssing concern that the preference being given to the fundamentalist groupings may lead to the establishment of an anti-Western Afghan government. They note that the United States has allowed too much freedom in this question to Pakistan's Inter-Service Intelligence. The assignment of a preferential role to Pakistan was probably justified since the main aim of the United States was to ensure that weapons reached the mujahidin swiftly. However, the situation is now becoming critical, and the Pakistani military may be able to dictate the conditions of the establishment of a new Afghan government and thus influence the political situation in Afghanistan.

The situation around Jalalabad, where the main battles have been fought this week with the participation of Pakistani servicemen, remains tense. The defenders of the Nangarhar Province center continue to resist the active military pressure from the opposition's armed formations. The latter number around 15,000 fighters at present as a result of reinforcements brought in from Khowst district and other areas to partially replace the substantial loss in human life sustained earlier (according to REUTER, referring to Kabul Radio, on Friday alone 415 insurgents were killed and 350 wounded).

Fierce fighting is under way in the immediate vicinity of Jalalabad airfield—the main target of the offensive by the extremists, who are using heavy artillery, rockets, and Italian-made Milan antitank guided missiles, recently delivered from Pakistan, to shell the positions of the government forces. The units of the Jalalabad Garrison are trying to contain the attackers by means of powerful bombing strikes.

Rasul Sayyaf, "prime minister" of the mujahidin government, told journalists that the opposition has managed to capture the airport and the old part of the city. However, this is being denied by representatives of another party to the "seven-member alliance"—the

Islamic Party of Afghanistan (IPA), which is directly participating in the attack on Jalalabad. REUTER reports that they told reporters that "Najibullah's people still control the airport."

The meeting with journalists took place in the small town of Shevai [name as transliterated] on Afghan territory where the mujahidin were, with great pomp, holding the first session of their "transitional government." However, UPI emphasizes, the session did not take place in the suburbs of Jalalabad, as planned earlier, but a mere 8 km from the Pakistani border, in a fortified insurgent training camp after 10 of the 16 ministers of the "rebel administration" and several dozen Pakistani and foreign journalists were hastily brought in. Furthermore, the venue of the gathering was kept strictly secret to the very last minute, UPI reports.

The meeting of the ministers of the "transitional government," which was held purely for publicity purposes, took place while the opposition formations "are suffering a fiasco in relation to their intention to capture one of Afghanistan's key cities," REUTER emphasizes.

Latest information: According to a report by the BAKHTAR agency, Afghan Army units defending Jalalabad continue to put up heroic resistance to the formations of the irreconcilable opposition. The extremists are shelling the city continuously in an effort to sow panic among the population. According to BAKHTAR, the latest rocket and artillery strike against residential areas was carried out under the leadership of instructors from Saudi Arabia and Pakistan.

According to reports reaching Kabul, the leaders of the Peshawar "seven" have instructed the field commanders under their control to launch massive rocket and artillery attacks on large cities throughout Afghanistan, and to cut roads and other supply lines between them.

Air Force Strikes Push Back Afghan Rebels

LD1203041789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0315 GMT 12 Mar 89

[Excerpt] Kabul 12 Mar TASS—By carrying out powerful bombing and strafing strikes against attacking formations of rebels and the Pakistani subunits supporting them, units of Afghan Government forces foiled their latest offensive and forced the extremists to abandon a number of fortified positions. Under the leadership of Pakistani, U.S., and Saudi advisers, detachments of "irreconcilables" are attempting to achieve a breakthrough to Jalalabad from the directions of Towr Kham, Chaparhar, and Khugianay. They carried out an intensive missile and artillery attack against the city's residential districts. [passage omitted]

Afghan Rebels Begin 'Disorderly' Retreats

LD1203234189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 12 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report by correspondent A. Shkirando]

[Text] Lieutenant General 'Abdul Haq Ulumi, secretary of the Afghan Council of Defense, has reported that the offensives mounted by extremist groups, supported by units of Pakistani soldiers and militia members, have been halted. As a result of bombing and ground offensives, in a number of regions the insurgents have been forced to abandon the continuation of bloodshed, and, together with their advisers from Pakistan, the United States, and Saudi Arabia, have begun a disorderly retreat in the direction of Towr Kham, Chaparhar, Konarha, and Khugianay.

Over the last 24 hours the enemy has lost 319 killed and more than 200 wounded. In 10 years of war I have not seen any other town suffer as much as Jalalabad. The insurgents, whose strength on the eve of the offensive was 14,000, subjected the town and its environs to massive rocket and artillery shelling. As always in such cases, it is the civilian population that suffers most. Along the extremists' route from the border with Pakistan to Jalalabad there is hardly a single village that has not suffered. Although the offensive has been halted, the situation is as yet far from normalized. By all accounts, the Pakistani military, which has dispatched here more than 3,000 soldiers, will try at all costs to take Jalalabad. We will use all combat means and possibilities at our disposal to reliably defend the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Afghanistan, said Lt Gen Ulumi. [video shows Ulumi speaking to journalists]

Opposition Shells Kabul, Damages Aeroflot Plane

LD1103145589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1436 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] Kabul, 11 Mar (TASS)—Formations of the irreconcilable opposition again subjected the area of Kabul International Airport to massive shelling with surface-to-surface missiles today. Up to 40 rockets fell on the runway and the residential districts adjacent to the airport. One of them exploded in the immediate vicinity of an Aeroflot aircraft, which had arrived in Kabul from Tashkent, inflicting slight damage on it. As a result of several shells hitting residential buildings, there are dead and injured among the civilian population.

U.S., Pakistan Blamed for Continuing Afghan War

PM1303125389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[Yu. Glukhov report: "Firebrands. Afghanistan Situation Deteriorating"]

[Text] After a relative lull, the situation in Afghanistan has once again deteriorated. News agencies report that heavy fighting is still going on in the Jalalabad region, especially near the airport—the main target of attacks by extremists using heavy artillery, rocket projectiles, and armored equipment. Jalalabad Garrison units are holding back the attackers with bombing raids. Both sides have suffered loss of life and equipment.

Just who has been and is now urging the mujahidin on to more and more adventures involving continuation of the bloodshed?

The Pakistani military are playing a particularly inflammatory role. THE NEW YORK TIMES quoted one Afghan oppositionist 9 February as saying the following: "The Pakistanis are exerting pressure on us to undertake a decisive offensive against Jalalabad. We refused, since this would lead to too many losses on both sides."

The pressure sharply increased after the "Peshawar Seven" just managed to cobble together a so-called "transitional government." A REUTER correspondent sent the following report from Islamabad 3 March: "Mujahidin spokesmen say they are being pressured by the Pakistani military, who don't want to lose the political momentum."

"Not losing the political momentum" means implanting the puppet government on Afghan soil as quickly as possible. Time is passing, yet the government is still sitting in Peshawar, running the risk of fading into oblivion, as has already happened with the previous "government" of Engineer Ahmad Shah because the protege of the Pakistani intelligence services has proved to be not only unrepresentative but also lacking Afghan credentials.

That is why the rash assault on Jalalabad began. That is why the emissaries of the "government of the Peshawar Seven" are so insistently seeking "international recognition." They have received it from Saudi Arabia, for "Prime Minister" R. Sayyaf is Riyadh's protege. Will hasty Saudi blessing add weight and prestige to the fledgling cabinet? The Afghans are a proud people. They are not accustomed to their premier speaking in a foreign accent and being on someone else's payroll, or to there being more Arab advisers in his entourage than Afghan supporters.

The "transitional government" is being used as a cover for the continuation of interference in Afghan affairs. The tracks of direct interference also lead to Washington. The U.S. NEWSWEEK magazine has just published material mentioning the death of a U.S. military adviser who "was coordinating the mujahidin operations" in the Qandahar region. The author of the reportage was even given a "souvenir," material evidence—a .45 pistol used by the U.S. Army and stamped "U.S. Government Property."

In this connection, even U.S. organizations are demanding that Washington moderate its bellicose ardor. The "Asia Watch" organization, for instance, has expressed concern in connection with the fact that Pakistani servicemen and other outside forces are forcing commanders operating on Afghan territory to carry out "indiscriminate attacks on major population centers." The peaceful population is suffering as a result. The organization has drawn attention to the dangerous role played by weapons provided by the United States.

Washington and Islamabad bear particular responsibility for the development of events. They are both party to the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan and have a direct duty to fulfill their pledges. The bloodshed at Jalalabad is the result of the sabotage of the national reconciliation policy.

Uzbek-Afghan Geological Agreement Signed

LD1103100489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] An agreement on expanding cooperation between Afghanistan and Uzbekistan in the sphere of geology has been signed in Tashkent. Soviet specialists have pledged to render assistance to their foreign colleagues in searching for new oil and gas deposits in the north of the country. Establishment of joint enterprises is envisaged for the future, too. According to the view of Afghan specialists, these could be firms conducting joint extraction and processing of minerals.

Israel's Arens Interviewed by Soviet Weekly

LD1103190789 Moscow TASS in English 1851 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 11 TASS—"Today we resemble people who have met after a long break in their relations," Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens said in an interview with the Cairo correspondent of the Soviet weekly, ECHO OF THE PLANET. Commenting on his recent meeting in Cairo with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, Moshe Arens said there were many questions which had to be discussed, but there was always not enough time. He had the impression that both of them thought more meetings should be held.

"One of the questions on which we have agreed is holding a meeting of experts on the Middle East to exchange views and analytical considerations," the Israeli minister continued. "Besides, we have decided to hold another meeting. I think that in the next several weeks you can observe further development of the dialogue between our countries with the aim of making up for the losses in the past 20 years. I don't think that one or two contacts will lead us to agreements. Our views differ on a number of issues. But we also have common goals. I can see that the Soviet Union is very interested in having peace in the Middle East."

The weekly publishes a report by TASS correspondent Ratmir Orestov after his trip to Israel, the first by a TASS correspondent in 20 years. He visited Jerusalem, two kibbutzim, and talked to Israelis about their attitude to the USSR, to the occupation of Arab territories, and to violence with which Israeli authorities quashed the Palestinian uprising. The correspondent comes to conclusion that the diverse views of people on the problem of occupied territories reflect the heterogeneous social and political structure of Israeli society.

The USSR severed diplomatic relations with Israel in 1967 in a resolute protest against Tel Aviv's aggression against neighbouring Arab states. The relations have not been normalized until today because the Israeli Government does not display readiness to join in a quest for just and lasting peace in the Middle East. However, the changes in the international climate cannot but tell on the mutual contacts of the two countries.

East Europe

Ligachev Concludes Czechoslovakia Visit

Talks With Jakes, Comments

PM1103183089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Mar 89 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Visit Ends"]

[Text] Prague, 11 Mar—On Friday M. Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, received Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who was in Czechoslovakia on a working visit at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee.

During the friendly talk there was an exchange of information on the two parties' policy at the present stage of restructuring in the course of implementing the economic reform. Particular attention was devoted to the policy of management and organization of the agrarian and food complex.

M. Jakes briefed the Soviet guest on the tasks the CPCZ is currently resolving, first and foremost in connection with the preparations for the 18th CPCZ Congress, scheduled for 1990. Ye.K. Ligachev thanked him for the opportunity to study the results achieved in agriculture and the food industry in the CSSR. He spoke about the CPSU's approach to these matters, which are to be examined at the upcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum.

The significance of intensive contacts and all-around cooperation between the two fraternal parties was stressed, and the desire expressed for their further development. Complete unity of views was noted in assessing topical questions of the international situation.

F. Hanus, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and V.P. Lomakin, USSR ambassador to the CSSR, took part in the talk, which took place in a cordial atmosphere.

On the same day Ye.K. Ligachev visited the "Slusovice" agricultural combine cooperative in Gottwaldsky district in South Moravian Kraj. This large socialist enterprise is known for its good results in agriculture, its wide introduction of the achievements of scientific and technical progress into production, and its efficient organization of labor. Many problems of people's daily life and questions of the provision of amenities in the countryside have been successfully resolved here. Telling the Soviet guest about the cooperative's activity, its chairman F. Chuba noted that in 1988 the farm's income totaled 7.1 billion korunas, which enables the agricultural combine confidently to expand production, adopt new types of output, implement a wide social program, and take care of the environment. The cooperative's collective is developing direct ties with enterprises in the Ukraine and Latvia and kolkhozes and sovkhozes in Moldavia.

In an interview for a TASS correspondent Ye.K. Ligachev noted that in the course of numerous meetings on Czechoslovak soil with party workers and leaders of agricultural organs and enterprises, it was said that the CPSU is nearing its next Central Committee plenum, at which the party's agrarian policy in present-day conditions will be formulated. In preparing for the CPSU Central Committee plenum, the party, in analyzing the lessons of development, is also paying intense attention to the experience of the fraternal socialist countries. That is why a group of USSR party and economic workers visited the CSSR. We know that Czechoslovakia provides itself with a full and stable supply of food products. Our friends told us that this is first and foremost the result of the CPCZ's correct policy with regard to the peasantry, a policy based on its indissoluble alliance with the working class, Ye.K. Ligachev noted.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary stressed that what primarily attracts attention is the consistency of CPCZ agrarian policy throughout the years of socialist building. Agriculture is, as a rule, given priority in the allocation of financial, material, and technical resources. State and cooperative farms in the CSSR are the basic producers of the most important types of food. Intrafarm relations of economic accountability have been developed widely in the country. And finally, the Czechoslovak peasant is better equipped in terms of technology and ancillary services than the city dweller. His wages are higher than average countrywide. That is why rural dwellers do not leave for the cities.

Sharing his impressions, Ye.K. Ligachev stressed that despite the high level of food supplies in Czechoslovakia, a restructuring of the economic mechanism in the countryside has begun in that country on the basis of the wide application of economic levers, which will undoubtedly lead to the further growth of the Czechoslovak people's prosperity. We are confident that the fraternal socialist countries' experience is our common, collective asset, and must be utilized actively.

Ye.K. Ligachev left for home today. He was seen off at the airport by J. Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; F. Hanus, and other officials. V.P. Lomakin, USSR ambassador to the CSSR, was among the send-off party.

Visits 'Unusual' CSSR Farm

LD1103111989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 10 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Hello. We've just received a report from Czechoslovakia concerning Comrade Ligachev's continuing visit to that country:

[Correspondent S. Andreyev] Today the Soviet guests were welcomed to Slusovice, probably the most well-known agricultural combine cooperative in Czechoslovakia. Both praised and cursed, it is an example and hope for some, while, for others, as RUDE PRAVO wrote recently, the very mention of Slusovice boosts the adrenalin in the blood.

Why these diametrically opposed assessments? Everything that happens at Slusovice is very atypical and unusual. [video shows Ligachev with his entourage, inspecting agricultural equipment]. Its income is fabulously high, measured in thousands and millions. It is called an agricultural combine, but agricultural production actually occupies barely one-fifth of the total. The rest is processing of output, the production of agricultural machinery, microcomputers and plastics, horse-breeding and much, much else.

Last year's grain harvest amounted to 67 quintals per hectares and the milk yield was over 6,000 liters. But when Frantisek Chuba, chairman of the cooperative, sketched out, in black and white, [video shows man pointing to a diagram on a blackboard] where the income originated, how production was structured, and, the main thing, what incentives were available to stimulate the subdivisions of the farm, our specialists who had come with Comrade Ligachev said in unison: But that's leasing, as large as life, but an advanced model of it. Questions came thick and fast. The schedule was disrupted, but no one minded. The short briefing about the farm that had been planned grew into an intense discussion about ways of developing the countryside. The cloak of mystery and enigma seemed to fall from everything that we saw—The modern factories and the fine shops.

Slusovice was no miracle, just the committed work of people on their own land, with their hands untied, multiplied by the possibilities of a large socialist economy.

Comments on Results of Visit

LD1103210689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 11 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, received Comrade Ligachev on 10 March. During a friendly conversation, they exchanged information about the policy of both parties at the present stage of restructuring and the implementation of economic reform. Special attention was paid to management and organization of the agrofood complex. Assessing the results of his visit, Comrade Ligachev told our correspondent:

[Begin Ligachev recording] The thing I would like to draw attention to in connection with the study of the experience of our Czechoslovakian comrades is, above all, the fact that, indeed, the agrarian policy of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is consistent in character. Let us make no bones about it: In all these years there has been no serious deviation at all from the political guidelines drawn up by the party in the agrarian sector of the economy. That is very important.

Second, we have seen once again that the foundation of solving the food question is the development, by every means, of sovkhozes and kolkhozes, together with the extensive development of relations of financial autonomy. Finally, I want to emphasize this: We saw once again that the peasant in Czechoslovakia enjoys considerably better technical equipment and social conditions than the townsman or the industrial worker. We saw that here the villagers are not leaving for the towns, but on the contrary there is an incentive for people to move from the town to the countryside. Paraphrasing a well-known saying, I think one can put it thus: When the peasant has a good life, the society in which he lives has a good life also.

That is something of great importance. It should also be noted that despite the fact that in Czechoslovakia a fairly high level of food supply to the people has been achieved, they are also engaged at present in restructuring the economic mechanism throughout the agroindustrial complex, moreover, on the basis of wide use of economic tools. That is also very remarkable.

I would like to report that I have just finished quite a long, and I must say substantial conversation with Comrade Jakes, which revealed and once again confirmed the full unity of views of our parties on the issues of social development. [end recording]

Prague TV Interviews Ligachev

LD1103220189 Moscow TASS in English 2053 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] Prague March 11 TASS—"A regular plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) will begin in several days' time to discuss matters concerning our party's agrarian policy in present-day conditions", said Yegor Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in an interview with Czechoslovak television on Saturday before leaving Czechoslovakia for home.

"The main directions and goals of the agrarian policy, ways and methods for implementing it will be formulated at the plenum. It can be said in a very concise way that we shall take the road of serious restructuring of economic relations in the countryside in conjunction with scientific and technological progress and the establishment of a new system for managing the food producing sector on a democratic basis".

In answer to another question Ligachev said:

"We believe that the present stage of perestroyka is centering on the refinement of the style of the party's activities. We have now really begun to change radically the style, methods and ways of our party's work. I would say that this is the key position of perestroyka at the present stage, for without it there can be no effective renewal or radical social transformations because the party both launched the restructuring process and is guiding it".

"Deep changes are taking place in our country in this respect, particularly regarding the democratization of inner-party life, the introduction of democratic principles and renunciation of administration by injunction. The reorganisation of the party apparatus is proceeding. Large cuts in party staff have been effected, and electivity and accountability of leading personnel are being introduced on a wide scale."

"The other aspect is connected with the strengthening of the role of the soviets (local governing councils). In point of fact we have now set about effecting a political reform. The current elections in our country are aimed at reorganising the supreme bodies of power. One should say that people's activity and interest are unprecedented. The ultimate result of the elections, I think, will be that we shall have a good and worthy composition of both the Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet".

"In the election period, there is more frankness and openness, a good deal of discussions, and clashes of opinion. But everything proceeds within the framework of the strengthening of socialism, in the interests of revitalising it and giving a more dynamic character to it."

Departs Prague [TASS]

LD1103105389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1032 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Excerpts] Prague, 11 Mar (TASS)—The working visit by Yegor Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to Czechoslovakia has ended. [passage omitted]

Today Yegor Ligachev left for home.

Returns From CSSR 11 March

LD1103205489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] Politburo member and Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Yegor Ligachev returned to Moscow from Czechoslovakia Saturday upon the completion of his working visit.

He was met at the airport by Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and other officials.

Polish Senate, President Proposals Viewed

PM1003192889 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent L. Toporkov report: "Poland: Will There Be a Senate and President? Important Step Toward Reasonable Compromise Taken"]

[Text] Warsaw—The "roundtable" working party on political reforms, meeting again, discussed questions concerning the elections to the Polish Sejm to be held in June and the concept of forming a second chamber of parliament, which will apparently be called the Senate, as well as proposals to introduce a post of president of the country.

All these are very important innovations designed radically to change the shape of the Sejm—the Republic's highest legislative body, in which the opposition is also to have a place from now on. The idea of forming a second chamber of parliament and creating the post of president is not new. It was put forward by the Democratic Party as long as 30 years ago, and only now, as a result of wide democratic reforms, have the conditions been created for its implementation.

Speaking in the course of the working party's session, its cochairman J. Reykowski noted that only on the basis of the various viewpoints put forward and the consensus that emerged can the working party go to the highest state organs with a proposal to make the changes prompted by life. The group's second cochairman, B. Geremek, agreed with him.

All this shows that an agreement in principle concerning the now widespread proposal to create a second chamber of parliament and introduce a post of president has been achieved. This is a notable step forward in achieving a common platform. However, difficult discussions lie ahead for the working party on the form the provision on elections to the Sejm should take, what the Senate is to be, and what role it will play.

A draft provision on elections to the Sejm is expected to be ready soon. The elections will be held in two rounds. In the first round the number of candidates is unrestricted, and to be elected it is necessary to win at least 50 percent of the votes. If no candidate wins that number, the two candidates who receive the largest number of votes will take part in the second round, when victory will be decided by a simple majority. Candidates will be nominated to the second chamber of parliament through the voivodships—2 from each of the 49. The president will be elected by the two chambers of parliament at a joint session. It is proposed that the second chamber concern itself with problems of civil rights and social and socioeconomic problems.

How is the agreement that has been achieved assessed? "Both sides are taking a risk," it was said at a news conference of opposition participants in the "roundtable." There seems to be an element of truth in this. Hence the need for more trust in each other and reasonable compromises.

PZPR Politburo on Soviet Ties, 'Blank Spots'

PM1003162389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
10 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Session of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo"]

[Text] Warsaw, 9 Mar—It was noted at a session of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo here that Poland's inviolable union with the USSR and with other socialist countries is the basis for its further development. This session assessed the sociopolitical situation in the country and the international aspects of the process of change underway in Poland. The first secretaries of PZPR voivodship committees, department chiefs, and the secretaries of PZPR Central Committee commissions took part in the session.

Close PZPR-CPSU cooperation is creating favorable conditions for the comprehensive deepening of relations of friendship between the two countries' peoples. The significance of the declaration on Soviet-Polish cooperation in the sphere of ideology, science, and culture signed by M.S. Gorbachev and W. Jaruzelski was stressed. The session pointed out that this document has made it possible to strengthen mutual trust and respect and raise problems that were previously passed over in silence. The most complex of these are being studied by a joint commission. It was underlined that the subjects of the "blank spots" must not be used for anti-Soviet purposes or to undermine the foundations of the friendship and cooperation between the two states and peoples.

Having familiarized itself with the progress of the report campaign within the PZPR, the Politburo emphasized that the decisions of the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, which prompt debate and aim to unite citizens around the program of political and economic reforms, are having a substantial effect. Party organs and organizations must be prepared to act effectively in conditions of political and trade union pluralism.

Hungary's Szuros To Head National Assembly

PM1303133589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Mar 89 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Parliament President Elected"]

[Text] Budapest, 11 Mar—A session of the Hungarian National Assembly continued its work here yesterday. It examined an organizational question. M. Szuros, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, was elected president of the National Assembly.

Addressing the supreme legislative organ's deputies, he emphasized that in the coming period there will be an increase in the National Assembly's role in the country's life, in the development of international ties, and in the formulation of Hungary's foreign policy course.

MSZMP Adopts New Short-Term Program

PM1303093589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
10 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent F. Lukyanov dispatch: "Aim—Trust of Society. MSZMP Central Committee Plenum Adopted Short-Term Action Program"]

[Text] Budapest—The third MSZMP Central Committee plenum in a month. This fact alone eloquently attests to the intensity of the political reform process now underway in the country. As J. Berecz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, said at a meeting with foreign correspondents after the end of the plenum that another Central Committee plenum will be held at the end of March, others in April and May; finally, in June there will be an enlarged plenum and perhaps an extraordinary party conference to discuss urgent ideological issues.

According to J. Berecz, who delivered a report at the plenum on the draft program "What Does the MSZMP Seek?", it seemed until recently that the program adopted by the all-Hungary party conference in May 1988 contained the answers to all questions that might arise. However, the development of sociopolitical and economic processes in the country in recent months, the emergence of concepts and phenomena such as political pluralism, the multiparty system, and the reform of ownership, and their implementation have made communists define their attitude toward them as matters proceed, as it were. Such prompt reactions have not always been able to form a common, orderly system—which has introduced a certain confusion into public opinion and the ranks of party members.

Hence the natural desire to draw up a distinct and clear-cut program, which will not take the place of the party's long-term strategy but define the MSZMP's place, character, and tasks under the new historical conditions, under conditions of the switch to a multiparty system. An action program which Hungary's communists could take to the 1990 parliamentary elections.

So what are the main points of the program "What Does the MSZMP Seek?" whose full text will be published shortly?

As regards the immediate political and economic tasks envisaged in the program, it records such very important areas as the creation of a rule-of-law state and the building of a political system which expresses the people's will; the strengthening of social protection for the individual and the collective; and the development of a modern economy meeting European and world standards.

The party's aim is to build democratic socialism—for which it must finally rid itself of vestiges of distorted and simplistic notions of socialism and dissociate itself from past political mistakes, subjectivism, inconsistency, and red tape.

The MSZMP program, as J. Berecz emphasized, is addressed to all sections of the country's population—workers, peasants, the intelligentsia, employers, and all age groups.

The formulation of a stand on alternative sociopolitical organizations and political parties, which are also drawing up action programs for the immediate future, occupied a special place in the program. The Social Democratic Party of Hungary, for example, has already prepared its program. Incidentally, literally on the eve of the MSZMP Central Committee plenum the first official consultations took place over several days in Budapest between an MSZMP working group headed by Central Committee Secretary G. Fejti and the leadership of the largest sociopolitical and trade union organizations, including alternative ones. Questions connected with the problem of going over to a system of political pluralism and representative democracy were discussed at the talks.

In this aspect the program enshrines the MSZMP's desire for dialogue and agreement with all constructive political forces traveling the path of the reforms and confirms the party's readiness to create a coalition.

After a quite lively and sharp debate, in which approximately 20 people spoke, the plenum as a whole approved the proposed program. The plenum also heard a report by M. Szuros, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, on Hungary's foreign policy ties and recommended his candidacy from the MSZMP for the vacant post of president of the National Assembly.

M. Nemeth, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, briefed the plenum participants on the results of his working visit to the USSR. The MSZMP Central Committee, the information report on the plenum states, evaluated highly the results of the exchange of opinions with M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. It was confirmed that relations between the two countries' governments and parties are developing in the spirit of mutual understanding, independence, noninterference in each other's affairs, and complete trust. The leaders of the USSR and Hungary are making consistent efforts in the interests of developing balanced bilateral ties and enhancing the efficiency of cooperation within the CEMA framework.

The MSZMP Central Committee noted with satisfaction that the sides displayed a principled unity of views on the international issues discussed.

The plenum also adopted an appeal to all party members and party organizations to celebrate 15 March—the anniversary of the 1848 anti-Habsburg national uprising—in which it confirmed the call to all the country's organizations and parties to jointly mark this traditional nationwide festival.

MSZMP Program Published for Discussion

LD1103214389 Moscow TASS in English 2129 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest March 12 TASS—The goal of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP) is to further develop society and to build democratic socialism with due regard for national peculiarities. The HSWP relies on political experience, on invariable values and on the results of social development since 1945, says the party's short-term national programme entitled "For the Future, Advance, Democracy and Socialism. What Does HSWP Strive For?" which was published in the Hhungarian press on Saturday and was brought up for a broad discussion by the Hungarian communists.

The programme points out that the party consistently strives to implement the people's will, to refine the system of political institutions, to reform the economic system and to renew the economic policy. The immediate economic tasks are further to develop international economic relations, to reform the activities of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and to utilise national resources better.

The HSWP aspires for peace, security and cooperation. The party is for the development of friendly relations with the peoples of neighbouring countries and for the strengthening of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union which advances along the road of reform. Creative labour, freedom, justice and solidarity serve as the major values of the HSWP, the programme emphasises.

Historian Views Hungarian Political Changes

PM0203165289 Moscow MOSCOW NEWSin English No 9, 26 Feb 89 p 3

[Article by Andranik Migranyan, research associate at the Institute of the Economics of the World Socialist System of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "Hungary—A Time of Change"]

[Text] Hungarian society is undergoing intensive change in many spheres. Two plenary meetings of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP) Central Committee, held in February, focused on the realization and assimilation of this process.

The HSWP Central Committee expressed the opinion that socialist pluralism could exist in Hungary within a multiparty system. To me this suggests that Hungarian society has arrived, in the development of socialism, at the point where it needs an adequate political mechanism to support the different economic and social interests which have evolved. It needs a mechanism which could ensure the harmonious realization of these interests.

These interests, which have only recently become a part of the political interplay, lack know-how and the experience of constructive cooperation and interaction. Meanwhile the historical experience of various countries, which departed from traditional or authoritarian structures, shows that these processes are, as a rule, painful and prolonged.

A consensus on basic values is a vital social and political mainstay during such a transition. This is a demanding and complex stage which may be aggravated by two important circumstances—the state of the economy and foreign relations. These factors can ease or complicate the situation for a country with a changing democratic system, and even push it back from the frontiers it has already reached.

Judging by the plenary meetings materials, the Hungarian leadership is trying to remove the stress in both directions.

The attitude of the Hungarian leadership towards the tragic 1956 events deserves special consideration. Their attitude attests to Hungary's shift to a new level of relations with its allies, above all with the USSR, according to the new thinking.

I won't deal with those events or assess the judgments of them articulated by Imre Pozsgay, member of the Politburo of the HSWP Central Committee, in January. Historians and politicians will speak about this, I suppose, after a thorough analysis of the documents and facts. Yes, apparently it is possible to characterize the events of 1956 as a people's uprising against the Stalinist-type regime imposed on the Hungarians. But, as the HSWP commission documents say, in these events "there existed, from the very beginning, declassed elements who aspired for restoration". Hungary, on the road of democratization, is reassessing anew these and other events in its history. This is the internal affair of every country and a sign of society's maturity.

But in this case it is hard to speak of 1956 as a purely internal affair. The assessment of the role played by the USSR in the 1956 events will cause us to react one way or another. At the plenary meeting of February 11-12, the Hungarian leadership found a wise solution. It decided to postpone all resolutions pending further research into the national tragedy of 1956 on the basis of facts and documents. Such a decision testifies to the aspiration of the Hungarian leadership to avoid possible complications, not needed today, both inside the country and outside, so as not to aggravate the already considerable problems.

Such a decision means, at the same time, that the traditional assessment of 1956 events is not as simple as it was thought up till now, that it needs further research and maybe revising. It also takes into account the possibility of a situation which could arise if the plenary Meeting were to give a simple assessment to these events independently. The decision of the plenary meeting invites us all to rethink the events of 1956.

The adopted decision is evidence of the new political thinking in relations between the socialist countries, when the desire for true independence is combined with the acceptance of political responsibility for the consequences of one's actions if they involve the interest of not just one's own country, but those of its allies, too. This decision may become an example of how other serious problems in relations between the socialist countries may be solved.

Rogachev Talks With GDR Deputy Minister

LD0803222889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1059 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, 8 Mar (TASS)—USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev met with GDR Deputy Foreign Minister Harry Ott today and had a friendly conversation during which problems of the Asia-Pacific region and questions of cooperation between the Soviet Union and the GDR in this region of the world were discussed. Harry Ott is passing through Moscow.

Talyzin Delegation Arrives in Leipzig

LD1103183889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1820 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] Berlin, 11 Mar (TASS)—A USSR Government delegation headed by N.V. Talyzin, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman, arrived today in Leipzig to take part in the international spring fair.

Political & Social

Reportage on Regional Demonstrations, Rallies

250,000 Attend 'Front' Rally in Riga

LD1203175689 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedishll 1700 GMT 12 Mar 89

[Text] [Announcer] We will continue with news from Riga, Latvia. (Svante Veijler) is there, and he tells us that the People's Front umbrella organization called a demonstration today and this demonstration attracted massive numbers of people.

[(Veijler)] About 250,000 people gathered by the Daugava, the mighty river which runs here in Riga, despite the raw and cold weather today. This means that nearly one in four Latvians heeded the People's Front call to rally for the Latvian Republic's right to self-determination and the Latvians' right to their language and culture. Everywhere you could see the Latvian red-white-red flag, which was permitted again some time ago. The meeting ended after 2 hours with the great mass of people singing together the Latvian national anthem "God Bless Latvia," a song which was written in the mid-19th century when Latvian national feeling was awakened seriously for the first time. Now they speak about the third awakening here in Latvia.

On the rostrum the masses of people were able to see one of the main leaders of the Communist Party, Ivars Kezbers, taking part in the singing of the national anthem. Earlier at the meeting he delivered a short and greatly acclaimed speech. The party must now choose whether it will go with the people or against them in the struggle for perestroyka, Kezbers said, and his appearance at the People's Front rally alone was for many a surprisingly radical step. Otherwise, the Latvian Communist Party finds it very difficult today to maneuver in a Latvia which is increasingly marked by hard confrontations between the Latvians and the large Russian-speaking part of the population, which today forms one-half. The party, many say, is being divided into two halves, and there is much to indicate that the conservative forces are gaining ground.

The speakers at the rally, who represented different organizations—from the most radical nationalists to the communists—belonging to the People's Front, called on the people to maintain calm and realism. Many of them warned against provocations and all sorts of calls for violent actions. The criticism of police and of the Russian so-called International Front was also very strong. But the strongest impression of today's rally, which was the biggest so far in Latvia since the People's Front was formed last year, was not the speakers, the flags, and the placards, but the calm and dignity with which the hundreds of thousands of Latvians assembled listened to their new leaders and sang their old beloved songs. This time the Latvians will fight for their survival as a nation, and you could see in their faces that they are prepared for a very long and very hard fight.

More on Riga Protest

AU1203182389 Paris AFP in English 1800 GMT 12 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, March 12 (AFP)—Tens of thousands of people rallied in the Latvian capital of Riga Sunday to protest against the increasing clampdown by state authorities against nationalist groups, opposition souces said.

Mikhail Bombin, local correspondent of the unofficial EKSPRES-KHRONIKA news bulletin, said between 100,000 and 120,000 Latvians followed an appeal by the Popular Front movement to demonstrate after the regional Communist Party's Central Committee condemned "anti-Soviet and separatist" currents within the Movement for Latvia's National Independence earlier this month.

The radical movement which claims 230,000 members out of a total population of three million people, is part of the Popular Front.

Half of Latvia's population are ethnic Russians, or speak Russian, and the growing number of Russian immigrants into the republic is a growing source of irritation to ethnic Latvians.

Mr. Bombin said Sunday's meeting was also a response to rallies on February 23 and 24 by the pro-Russian Interfront movement and its calls to lay down tools on April 1 in a protest against a draft law that would make Latvian the official language in this Baltic republic.

Addressing the crowd, a member of the Central Committee of Latvia's Communist Party said he could only see "supporters of perestroyka", the catchword for Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's reform programme.

Vitaliy Korotich, editor of the reformist Moscow weekly OGONEK, who also attended the rally, earlier lashed out at "those in Moscow who make out that there is something serious going on in Latvia."

The Soviet press has been sparing in its account of events in the nationalist-minded Baltic republics of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania which were annexed by the Soviet Union in 1940 after a 20-year period of independence.

On Friday, Latvia's first party secretary Ianis Vagris denied rumours that military reinforcements had arrived in the republic.

He said that Central Committee criticism of Latvia's national independence movement had to be seen in context. The Central Committee may only have rapped the nationalist movement, he said, but in fact the authorities were facing two extremisms—the independentist movement and the pro-Russian Interfront.

Both movements have nominated candidates for the March 26 general elections, but state authorities are seeking to have pro-independentists sacked.

Moscow's dissident news bulletin GLASNOST has said that the tightening of Latvia's grip on nationalists followed a "secret instruction" backed by four members and non-voting members of the Soviet Communist Party's Politburo, or party government.

The editor of GLASNOST, Sergey Grigoryants, said the instruction set out moves to be taken against "anti-Soviet groups who are seeking to change into parties".

Aim of Riga People's Front Rally

LD1203235389 Riga in Latvian to Europe 2103 GMT 12 Mar 89

[Interview with Janis Skapers, member of the board of the Dome of the People's Front of Latvia, by Janis Udris, editor of the "Amber Coast"; from the "Amber Coast" program; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] At 1330 today, so 1 hour, then, after the end of the day's "Amber Coast" broadcast, the People's Front of Latvia is organizing an extensive rally at the bank of the Daugava River in Riga. Here is a discussion about this between Janis Udris and Janis Skapars, member of the board of the Dome of the People's Front of Latvia:

[Udris] What is the aim of today's rally? What is it being organized for?

[Skapars] This rally is a demand by broad masses of the public. During the last few weeks people have constantly asked us what the People's Front will do to express its stance on those instances which are essentially torpedoing the democratic reorganizations—which are torpedoing them very seriously, sometimes even dangerously.

Here one would give the concrete example about the participants in a 6 March picket in front of the Central Committee building being detained and taken to the militia station. Riga theater actors and very eminent [word indistinct] were taken to a militia station in a brutal manner.

This is not the only instance. We could even cite instances when picket participants have been detained for several days. So an impression is gained that some forces want to put an end to us, to—let us say—such a form of activity by the people whereby they would like to express their will without being hampered. I think that this certainly concerns very conservative forces, which would like to restore the old administrative methods and, perhaps even more, introduce some kind of a, so to speak, firmer regime in Latvia.

I think that there is only one way. The unity of the people and the will of the people will show that such a way back no longer exists. One of our basic slogans will therefore be: Down with the attacks upon Gorbachev's policy. Because at the present moment such attacks are already appearing very openly.

Moreover, we want to demonstrate the people's will and support for democracy. There will therefore be slogans such as: Democracy is not a whim of power, but the will of the people. Do not permit a new 1959. Safeguard the freedom of expression and the press, which at the present time is very topically urgent. We invite decent people of all nationalities into our ranks.

And I think that another aspect should come into all of our actions. That is, we should propagandize more friendship, more decency and goodness. There will be a slogan: Down with the escalation of hatred in Latvia.

Yes, I also believe such an aspect should perhaps be emphasized. We would like to develop this at the rally and use the presence of the entire people to develop the idea that Latvia supports greater sovereignty. Latvia supports the idea that we ourselves should be the masters in our country. We should not be told how to act by someone somewhere else, from a very distant center which does not really know our problems and suffers very little because of them.

The principal idea or the principal emphasis will be on democracy, on a transformation of Latvian society. This, I think, is the most important. I think that the inhabitants will also support even those laws with regard to migration, language, and others.

This rally and this gathering of forces must by all means have an even-tempered, peaceful, and disciplined character. I am deeply convinced that our people will act in this way at this rally.

On Sunday there will be a decisive moment. Everyone who is free will gather and with a united voice will express their will: for antidemocratic moves—no! For old command and administrative methods—no! For reaction—no!

I think that in a few hours our people will gather at the Komjaunatnes Krastmala to chant this slogan.

Latvian Actors-Militia 6 Mar Incident

LD1303032189 Riga in Latvian to Europe 2130 GMT 8 Mar 89

[From the "Amber Coast" program]

[Excerpt] These days, Latvian society is discussing, in a lively manner, the incident involving actors of the National Theater and several other Riga theaters which took place on the afternoon of Monday 6 March near the

Latvian Communist Party Central Committee building, where about 50 actors went to express their support for Gorbachev's restructuring movement and journalists' work in furthering it.

Also, a larger number of militiamen arrived at the picketing place. One of the militia officers gave the order to disperse within 3 minutes. The actors, also, were preparing to do this, all the more because such a request had just been expressed to them by leaders of the Latvian Television and Radio Broadcasting Committee, chairman Janis Leja and deputy chairman Jazeps Barkans. For motives unknown and also incomprehensible to us, militiamen brutally pushed the actors—with already rolled up posters—into vehicles and drove them to the militia station. Inta Burana, Uldis Dumpis, and (Janis Skanis) from the National; Janis Paukstello from the Dailes; and Andars Abolins from the Jaunatnes Theaters were detained. After a couple of hours they were released. [passage omitted]

[Riga in Latvian to Europe at 2103 GMT on 12 March in a related report adds the following: "This incident—if such a description can at all be applied—has deeply shocked Latvian society. The Latvian SSR State Committee of Culture, Union of Theater Workers, and Union of Writers adopted a protest resolution, which states: Participation of the republic's culture and art stars in deciding the fate of restructuring is being adjudged as an antisocial act. Indeed, the word culture is an empty sound in Riga to the ears of the leadership, the same as the rights of a human being to individually express his point of view. We demand that the unlawful action by the militia be punished."]

Russian Workers Strike in Baltics

LD1103171689 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1645 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] [Announcer] In the Soviet Union, delegates to the new people's congress will be elected in 2 weeks, but few voters actually understand how the election will take place. Many fear that the electoral process will be manipulated. In both Estonia and Latvia Russian workers are on strike in an attempt to stop the independence moves, reports our correspondent.

[(Svante Veiler)] The mood here in Latvia, just as in the neighboring republic Estonia, is very tense. Simultaneously with the election campaign, friction is intensifying between the two big newly formed popular movements. The People's Front, on the one hand, which is dominated by Latvians, is pressuring the Communist Party to take better account of Latvians' national interests. The Latvians in the People's Front say that this is their last chance to emphasize their national interests. The Latvians today comprise only half the population of the republic, and here in the capital, Riga, they make up only about 30 percent. Against the People's Front is the ever more aggressive so-called International Front. It claims to want to defend the Russian population against attacks from Latvian nationalists, as it puts it. Even though everyone claims to agree that the economic problems are most important, the question of the Latvian language and opposition between the national groups are arousing the strongest feelings. Both in Estonia and in Latvia there have been strikes among the Russian workers, and in both republics strike committees are now being organized at the big enterprises that are dominated by Russian workforces. The strike committees are collaborating at least informally with the International Front. It is planned to announce strikes next week. In Estonia, they will be calling for the resignation of the republic's president and prime minister. Here in Latvia they will demand that a stop be put to the new language law and to plans to halt immigration of Russian workers.

5th Day of Armenian Strike in NKAO

AU1003190689 Paris AFP in English 1844 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Excerpt] Moscow, March 10 (AFP)—Armenians in Stepanakert, capital of Nagorno-Karabakh, entered the fifth day of a general strike Friday in continuing action to have the region transferred from the Republic of Azerbaijan to Armenia, a local journalist said.

Since January, the autonomous region, which has a majority Armenian population, has been under direct rule from Moscow, which has refused to allow the annexation.

The strike is for a total separation of Nagorno-Karabakh from Moslem-majority Azerbaijan, for its attachment to Christian-majority Armenia, and for the release of all members of the Karabakh committee, who led the annexation movement last year and who have been under arrest since December, local sources said.

The strike is only partial but "a lot of businesses have closed down," a journalist from the local daily, SOVIETSKII KARABAKH, said over the telephone to Moscow.

He added that no violence had been reported since the strike began.

The Army maintains a curfew in Nagorno-Karabakh, as well as in the capitals and some other regions of Armenia and Azerbaijan.

In the Armenian capital of Yerevan on Wednesday, some 300 women marched through the streets to celebrate International Women's Day, witnesses said.

Soldiers blocked a number of streets and cordoned the women off from a gathering of their menfolk behind, but otherwise refrained from any interference, the witnesses said.

They added that demonstrators shouted "Independence" and "Freedom for the Karabakh Committee" as they marched.

The demonstration dispersed after a brief showdown with soldiers, who were ordered by an officer to withdraw after consultations with civilian leaders, the witnesses said.

Wednesday's march was the second authorised in Yerevan since a curfew imposed last november. [passage omitted]

107 Arctic Miners End 3-day Strike

LD1003162489 Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] One-Hundred-and-seven miners have stayed in the pits for about 3 days in the Arctic.

The labor conflict with the management arose, because the miners had not been paid big bonuses they were entitled to.

The coal industry minister, senor officials, and trade union representatives arrived in Vorkuta to resolve the conflict.

The workers' demands were met, and the mine managers were severely reprimanded.

Moldavian Rally Against Language Policy

PM1303100989 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 1 Mar 89 p 3

[ATEM report: "Common Sense Must Prevail"]

[Text] On Sunday 26 February thousands of people—disregarding the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree "On Responsibility for Violation of the Set Procedure for Organizing and Holding Meetings, Rallies, Street Marches, and Demonstrations" and ignoring the decisions of the latest session of the Kishinev city soviet—blatantly violated public order in Kishinev.

The people who gathered in the square in front of the building of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee chanted slogans on the subject of the language issue and demanded the release of one of the people lawfully detained a few days ago for blatently violating public order and persistently refusal to comply with the militia's demands.

Representatives of party, soviet, and law enforcement organs tried to appeal to those present, but people refused to listen to their appeals and proposals. The participants in the unauthorized rally were asked several times over megaphones to disperse, not to disturb public order and people's Sunday rest, and not to impede traffic on Prospekt Lenina. These appeals were not heeded either.

S.K. Grossu, first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, addressed those present. He reminded them that the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the republic's government are keeping problems concerning the development of spiritual life at the focus of their attention and are constantly analyzing them with the aim of finding a comprehensive solution. He mentioned this again in his radio and television address, which was subsequently published in the press. Key questions, which are of historic importance for Moldavia, cannot be resolved by unlawful actions on the lines of that staged by those present in the square.

S.K. Grossu again appealed to them not to violate public order, to observe the rule of law, and to disperse.

Despite this, the rally participants proceeded to chant all kind of slogans, to revile the militia men who sought to hold back the crowd, and to encourage people to ignore the legitimate demands of the authorities. Then they marched into the middle of Prospekt Lenina and, holding up traffic, sat down in the roadway. They put up posters on trees and a trolleybus they had hijacked. Traffic in the center of the city was paralyzed for 6 hours.

An illegal march was organized from the building of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee building and the "Patriya" movie theater, along the Prospect Lenina toward Liberation Square. Its participants disturbed citizens' Sunday rest and insulted the militia men, who, nonetheless, showed restraint in view of the fact that there were many children, young people, and women in the column, and especially in its front ranks, who might have been hurt in a clash.

On Pushkin Street the militia had formed a cordon. The participants in the march rushed at them trying to break through the cordon, reviled the militia men, snatching their caps and throwing them in the air. They also surrounded and tried to rock a minibus that happened to be there. Having broken through the cordon, the column kept advancing. When it reached Liberation Square it spread out and marched back across Victory Square. In all, these illegal acts of hooliganism lasted 10 hours. The city was in a state of agitation, people were alarmed, and their Sunday rest was disrupted.

Criminal proceedings have been instituted by the Kishinev Prosecutor's Office, and an investigation is under way into the instances of blatant violation of public order and refusal to obbey the legitimate demands of the representatives of the authorities that led to the obstruction of traffic. A number of people have been detained by the militia organs for taking part in the unauthorized rally and marches and for acts of hooliganism, and information about these people has been passed to the people's court. Party, soviet, and law enforcement organs are taking steps to maintain public order in the city and to prevent further disturbances.

M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in his speech at the meeting with working people in Kiev supported the workers' view that "enough is enough, that the talking has now been done, and it is time to pass on to action." Mikhail Sergeyevich emphasized that "appeals dictated by political ambitions, careerism, and sometimes plain hostility toward socialism are false, dangerous, and harmful. We must warn those who are spreading them that they are playing with fire."

Moldavian Nationalists 'Challenge' State

LD1103112389 London DAILY TELEGRAPH in English 11 Mar 89 p 10

[By Xan Smiley in Kishinev]

[Text] Authorities in Kishinev, capital of the Moldavian Soviet Republic, are openly complaining that illegal demonstrations by thousands of nationalists are posing a direct challenge to the state.

"Does Soviet power in the city exist?" asked the republic's official news agency in an alarmed and exasperated communique issued last night in Evening Kishinev, the capital's Communist party daily newspaper.

The unrest in Moldavia, which borders Romania, has been bubbling for some months, but the latest communique amounted to an admission, remarkable even by the standards of glasnost, that Communist party authority in many of the nation's non-Slav republics is seriously weakening as party leaders seem reluctant to crush dissent by force.

In the past two months, swelling crowds of nationalists, recently exceeding 30,000, have regularly been gathering in central Kishinev over weekends, waving slogans calling for the sacking of party leaders.

The Kishinev newspaper admitted that on Wednesday, a Soviet holiday in honour of International Women's Day, 5,000 women "screaming insults against certain of the republic's leaders", had halted the capital. [sentence as published]

The party newspaper admitted: "Among the demonstrators are Communist party members and many students".

Worse for the party, the communique complained that the party had weakly failed to prevent "the connivance of school directors, technical institutes and polytechnics", and hinted that the Culture Ministry was infected with anti-Soviet nationalism.

'Daily' Ukraine Christian Protests

LD0903182189 Vatican City International Service in German 1500 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Protest actions by Christians are taking place daily in the Ukraine town of Rovno, who wish to use a former Orthodox church again. Four women are on hunger strike. That was confirmed today by a leading official in Rovno. He spoke of an average of 250 people who take part in the protests. A member of the Ukrainian Helsinki group stated however that their number is 3,000. The protests began about 1 month ago when the city council decided to continue to use the church as a museum of atheism.

February Revolution Anniversary Rally

AU1203175589 Paris AFP in English 1626 GMT 12 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, March 12 (AFP)—Six demonstrators were arrested Sunday at a rally here to mark the 72nd anniversary of the February revolution which overthrew Russia's Tsarist system, a source said.

Several hundred demonstrators gathered on the outskirts of Mayakovskiy Square, sealed off by police, and applauded as two groups of dissidents unfurled the horizontally striped blue, white and red flag symbolising the February 1917 revolution, the source said.

The flag was replaced by the red flag of communism after the Bolshevik revolution eight months later.

Six of the dissidents brandishing the flag were rounded up and bundled into cars while fellow demonstrators tried to prevent the arrests, the source said.

The Democratic Union, a group which describes itself as an opposition party, called for the demonstrations in Moscow and several other Soviet cities.

In Leningrad, Kazan Cathedral Square was sealed off by police Sunday in anticipation of a demonstration to mark the anniversary, according to the dissident journalist Sergey Grigoryants, who attended the Moscow rally.

Six dissidents who called for the Leningrad demonstration had already been arrested, he said.

The February Revolution was celebrated officially until 1929, when it was classified as a "bourgeois" revolution.

Ryzhkov Continues Visit to Kemerovo Oblast

Speaks to Novokuznetsk Crowd

LD1003000889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 9 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; correspondent A. Tikhomirov video report on Council of Ministers Chairman Nikolay Ryzhkov to Novokuznetsk in Kemorovo Oblast]

[Text] [Tikhomirov] The Council of Ministers chairman was expected here, and he selected these places for his trip not only because this is the most industrial of all Siberia's industrial regions but also because the distortions and imbalances between industrial capacity and the provision of social amenities for people, which is at the present time coming so graphically to the forefront, are particularly evident in the life of such cities as Novokuznetsk. [video shows motorcade proceeding along a street lined with people and then close-up pictures of sculptured figures on a monument, back view of Ryzhkov talking to people in a crowd, then he is shown in medium close-up speaking to the crowd]

[Ryzhkov] I myself [words indistinct] not far from you in the Urals. It is the first time that I have visited your city. I have never been here before. I have read and studied a lot. I know of it and I know of your factories and world-renowned mines. We have now come to view them. I feel that there are many problems. [passage indistinct] All of them have been exacerbated. Everyone wants to solve immediately the problems of housing and kindergartens, catering, and so on. But everything cannot be achieved at once. So there is one remedy. It is essential to tackle these matters and solve them. There is no other remedy. No one is going to come and decide for us and do the work for us. It depends on us alone.

[Tikhomirov] The inhabitants of Novokuznetsk had much that was good to say about their town, but nevertheless longstanding themes predominated—themes such as the lines at food stores, the poor selection of vegetables, fruit, and dairy products, not to mention meat. Then again there was the theme of the waiting lists at kindergartens and creches. There is also a waiting list for housing amounting to years, although the plans for the provision of housing are being exceeded. Another theme was consumer goods; the store shelves are half-empty. In this connection Novokuznetsk, like all of Kemerovo Oblast, is oriented to importing and not exporting goods, for its volume of industrial output the oblast holds 13th position in the country, but only 59th position for the production of consumer goods. [video shows Ryzhkov chatting with crowd; exterior of the West Siberian metallurgical combine]

Incidentally here are some unusual pictures that we managed to shoot at the combine. [video shows Ryzhkov and others watching fish feeding in a tank] This is a mirror carp being fattened up. It is said that for 3 kg of feed one gains 1 kg of added weight. There is also silver carp, and these are sturgeons.

This is a workshop for the repair of private motor-cars at the combine. [video shows car repair facility; Tikhomirov, P.A. Kustov, general director of the West Siberian Metallurgical Combine, and Ryzhkov standing together amid group of people]

It was said there that you sense some resistance from part of the collective when you propose that profit be invested not in raising earnings but in the construction of such features as a fish workshop, a sausage workshop, and a repair workshop. Is this so?

[Kustov] Yes, regrettably among the fourth team at the blooming mill there were a few people who said: Why do we need furniture, and why do we need sanitary engineering equipment? They said that all the money should be devoted to the night and evening shift allowances. This did occur, and I don't conceal it.

[Tikhomirov] Nikolay Ivanovich, it seems to me that this is a small model of what is now occurring at many of our enterprises, where there has been a start to channeling all the profits into the earnings fund, so to speak, and then people go to the stores and there is nothing to buy.

[Ryzhkov] Yes, unfortunately, such a practice has occurred. I believe that this is not a far-sighted general practice, when such immediate desires to receive earnings prevail and there is absolutely no looking to the long term. It might, of course, have not created this workshop for the repair of motor-cars for the working people. I think, for instance, that this is the first time that a metallurgical works has engaged in such services. But in my view it is acting right. Or take the fish workshop, if it can be called such. You have 200-210.... [Ryzhkov looks at director for confirmation]

[Kustov] Yes, 210-215.

[Ryzhkov] 210-215 tonnes of wonderful fish that it has bred and thus provided fully for the needs of the works. I think that in a year's time it will provide an opportunity for giving assistance to the city.

[Kustov] We are assisting it now. We are trading in the vicinity of the wine-market.

[Ryzhkov] I think that they are acting correctly in creating these workshops in order to make not only metal but also to extend services to their people and to engage in the production of agricultural produce. They are also engaging in fish-breeding. I have just been discussing with them the fact that there is evidently a need to extend assistance in the construction of an outpatient's clinic at the works. On account of this it is producing above-plan metal. At the present they are holding talks with foreign firms in order to construct a workshop to produce....

[Kustov] Furniture.

[Ryzhkov] Furniture; 70 million [units not specified] of furniture—that is a big undertaking. We do not have enough furniture at present. So I believe that the line that they are pursuing is correct.

Speaks to Workers in Kemerovo Oblast

LD1003231389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 10 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov's trip around Kemerovo Oblast continues.

[Correspondent A. Tikhomirov—identified by screen caption] We say that The Kuzbass is an industrial area, but we still do not have in our country one oblast producing, say, coal and metal, while the inhabitants of another oblast would say: You make steel and extract fuel, and we will feed you. So here, too, in the Kuzbass in terms of achievement of the food program falls upon the shoulders of the countryside, but the area of crop farming is risky. This is what is commonly said. There are few, even extremely few, hectares of plowed land because either there is taiga, or a city, or factories, or coal pits, or opencast coal mines. Hence quite literally the worth in gold of every little bit of fertile agricultural land and the worth in gems of each rural worker who knows his job. In this district alone, hundreds of kolkhoz farmers are lured away to the mines, so this conversation did not come about by chance.

[Begin recording] [video shows a cluster of people welcoming Ryzhkov to a farm] [Unidentified official] Nikolay Ivanovich, 360 villages in the Kuzbass ceased to exist over the last 20 years, and 261,000 people (?emigrated) to the cities over that period.

[Ryzhkov, speaking to Mikhail Ivanovich Shchadov, minister of the coal industry] We have just performed an (?act of sabotage) against you there in the car. We will fix such a tax against you for the people you take from the farms so that, well, you just think it over ten times whether to take these people or not.

[Man] That is right, Nikolay Ivanovich.

[Shchadov] Yes, there is a point.

[Ryzhkov] There is a point?

[Shchadov, eyes cast downward] Yes. [end recording]

[Tikhomirov] Mikhail Ivanovich Shchadov, minister of the coal industry, did not hear reproaches today unexpectedly or by accident. It somehow is happening that miners and rural people are finding it cramped on this land. And the coal miners are, for some reason, always winning.

[Begin recording] [M.P. Smetannikov, kolkhoz chairman] Certainly, that is so. Of course, coal is needed by the country. We cannot say of it that it is not needed, but I think that one also has to look at it from the point of view that maybe one should extract less by the opencast method, but extract it in pits. The second thing is that, if one is to speak about our farm, more than 1,000 hectares of land have been taken away from us. Now, in accordance with a government decision, a city of (Uskatsk) is to be built, too. About 700 hectares will be lost to this town, and the best lands at that.

[Shchadov] Nikolayevich Ivanovich, the town of (Uskatsk) is a difficult problem.

[Tikhomirov, speaking over Shchadov] We will allow ourselves to not quite concur with the minister. It is fairly simple if one does not look at things from a position of departmental interests, but objectively and from a commonsense point of view. There are so many old mining towns that have become dilapidated and which have such poor facilities that it would make more sense to build well-appointed housing in old towns rather than to build new towns, than to remove arable land from operation and take meadows away from cattle, thereby reducing the consumption of milk and meat in those selfsame mining families. [Video switches from Ryzhkov at the farm to pictures of a rundown village and cattle] The theme of food is a constant topic, and comes up during conversations, including the one at this pit at Prokopyevsk. [Video shows administrative buildings bearing award emblems and the sign "F.E. Dzerzhinskiy Mine"]

[Ryzhkov, speaking amid a cluster of people outside mine] We have all been drumming away, drumming away for 3-4 years, and are unable to resolve this all at once. You know that next week there is to be a plenum of the party Central Committee, and it will be taking a particular look at agriculture. Do we not understand that there is not enough meat? Or do you think that we know nothing? We know it well. There is not enough meat. And if one is to talk of butter, 1 in 4 kg of the butter we eat is not our produce. That is just it. We are eating American and French butter.

[Man] There is butter here.

[Woman] Our own butter is much better than theirs....

[Ryzhkov] Better, but there is not enough of it, so there will be a plenum. These matters will be examined. It is necessary for the countryside to be raised up in some way at long last. You say that things are bad here. Yes, things are bad. Well then, tomorrow evening I will be flying to the Altay territory and will have a look: They say things there are still worse. I am flying out to Altay Kray tomorrow evening. I will stay here with you, and then that is all.

Yes, everything has to be decided about the countryside. We are talking with Aleksandr Grigoriyevich, first secretary of the obkom. Alright then, you cannot make automobiles or color televisions, but surely you can make washing machines in the Kuzbass? [excited voices of citizens complaining in the background]

[Woman] We have our own works which make electrical machinery and we have no vacuum cleaners.

[Ryzhkov] There are no vacuum cleaners. There are not enough vacuum cleaners. And somebody has to bring you washing machines. You have to do it yourselves, you have to organize production and make our own washing machines. After all, you can do some things by yourselves, comrades. [end recording]

[Tikhomirov] Nikolay Ivanovich went down into the pit and saw the coal faces where the steep-falling seams are processed. Our cameraman was not allowed in. It is simply unthinkable to work there with lights. That is understandable. There is explosive methane. [video shows Ryzhkov in miner's clothing and helmet].

Later there was a conversation with the miners of the Kuzbass and with leaders of the associations and pits at the gorkom. The problems raised here largely coincide with those mentioned during the recent meeting of Comrade Gorbachev in the donbass. [video shows Ryzhkov at main table in gorkom listening to a speech in a small conference room].

Also today, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov flew from Prokopyevsk to Kemerovo, where he visited the Azot production association. [video shows Ryzhkov in the control room of the Azot works].

Visits Altay Industrial Projects

LD1203184389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 12 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report from Altay Kray by correspondent A. Tikhomirov]

[Text] There have been so many meetings and the program for the visit has been so intense that we have just had time to arrive at the Barnaul television studio while the "Vremya" program is still in progress. We are reporting from there. This footage was filmed yesterday when Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov visited the Altay motor works. [video shows Ryzhkov accompanied by officials on a walkabout at the works]

The development of a new diesel engine for the DT 250 tractor was the main topic of conversation. Nearly 90 percent of the original blocks and components for the engine have been designed here and will be manufactured by the association. I noted the time limits set for this job. There are changes—only 3 years divide the first drawing from the first serial engine. Earlier, this operation would have taken 11-12 years. [video shows the engine with a plate reading: D-4601, sample, 275 horsepower, application—agricultural tractor T-250; other exhibits shown]

There was a visit to the Transmash Association on the same evening. This, too, is one of Barnaul's major enterprises. From conversations with residents, who turned up in great numbers in the streets yesterday, it became clear that those who work at such enterprises are much better provided with housing, domestic services, and food through a better organization and payments from the profits of their enterprises. [video shows Ryzhkov and entourage at the Transmash]

This footage was shot this morning during a flight to Gorno-Altayskaya Autonomous Oblast, to the Katun River Valley where, as you know, the construction of the Katun GES has been considered for many years. [video shows aerial views of the river; a helicopter landing in the wilderness also shown]

Nikolay Ivanovich talked here with specialists from the Ministry of Power and Electrification, leaders of the kray and oblast, and local residents.

After that, the chairman of the Council of Ministers gave an interview in which he outlined his view of the construction of the GES. We do not have enough time to show the interview in this program. It will be shown in tomorrow's "Vremya" program, at 1700 Moscow time. [video shows Ryzhkov talking to a group of people]

Visits Controversial Katun GES

LD1203225989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 12 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report from Altay Kray by correspondent A. Tikhomirov]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Tikhomirov] This report is among those that are very difficult to film and broadcast. Although the Katun GES so far exists only on project drawings, it has provoked such controversy and open criticism in press reports that the whole population seems to have divided into two groups: those against and those for its construction. Moreover, it is rumored that in the election campaign in Altay Kray, this issue is considered most important. That is why this trip to the planned dam site undoubtedly occupies a special place in the program for the chairman of the Council of Ministers' visit. That is why representatives of the Ministry of Power and Electrification have come here with the weightiest arguments in support of the project, something which was absent, unfortunately, from their press answers to articles by Siberian writers and other members of the public. So, a second examination of the project has been carried out. [video shows aerial shots of the mountains and the river, a helicopter landing; Ryzhkov shown being welcomed by a group of people; Ryzhkov and others shown examining tables and diagrams displayed on a makeshift stand]

First, the Academy of Sciences rejects the fears that the mercury deposits registered in the area might dissolve in the water and penetrate the water reservoir. Their content will not exceed the permissible level, but will remain 5 or 6 times lower. The fears that the water balance of the Ob River—and the Katun is its tributary—will be irreversibly upset have not been confirmed either.

[Begin recording of unidentified official] You could see for yourself while flying over the area that it is practically a lifeless canyon. There is no forest or taiga here. But following the widespread trend, comrades started raising the issue to the effect that taiga, precious kinds of trees, and forest would be destroyed here. This is the first thing. The second thing is that there are allegedly archeological monuments here. History. You were told, perhaps, during the flight that excavations are being carried out there, and indeed, ancient burial sites have been found there that are several thousand years old. But we think that the dead must not strangle the living, as the saying goes. [end recording] [video shows man addressing Ryzhkov, group]

[Tikhomirov] Fine words, I thought at first, but no more than that. But later the question was really about the living, indeed, about the needs of those who were born here and still live in nearly the same conditions as the ancient Altay people. It is not enough that the production of goat milk and wool is the only occupation they are entitled to; for nearly 10 years they have not known what to do next and what work to find, apart from goat breeding. [video shows local people, children]

[Begin recording] [Unidentified woman] We will finish the combing soon, and there will be no work until haymaking season. That is fine if you do not have a family, but if you have one, just try to support it!

[Ryzhkov] Maybe some branches could be set up here?

[Unidentified woman] In previous years there was work, sort of, but now now there is no work for women at all.

[Ryzhkov] But you have had no electricity so far.

[Unidentified man] Of course, our power base is weak.

[Second unidentified man] The question must be solved in a crucial way. Yelanda should be moved to a different place as soon as possible. People should be given normal and comfortable living conditions. It is a fact that these people should have hot water in their houses. This is the way this question should be solved today.

[Ryzhkov] Is this Yelanda...

[Crowd, interrupting] [words indistinct]

[Second unidentified man] This matter should be accelerated, because people are indeed tired of all those discussions. Each time I come here, one and the same question is raised. Yuriy Ivanovich, are we going to build or not, what shall we do? Let us start building! [end recording]

[Tikhomirov] There were doubts—what if those people were agents of power engineers? But then, in Gorno-Altaysk and Biysk, people said more or less the same thing. An odd situation: Those who live here are for it, whereas those who are looking at it from a distance are against it. A need to protect natural beauty is an argument in the time of restructuring, but the development of the kray is an argument of restructuring, too. [video shows people in conversation, Ryzhkov and others posing for a photograph] [passage omitted]

Speaks at Kemerovo Meeting

PM1203194089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Mar 89 Second Edition pp 1-2

[TASS report: "Social Reorientation of the Economy—Pivot of the Practical Tasks of Restructuring"]

[Text] Kemerovo, 11 Mar—The processes of renewal and democratization that cover all spheres of Soviet society's life and the party's real steps to involve millions of people in the management of social development have caused a sharp upsurge in the working people's activeness and enhanced their interest in everything that is happening in the country. An active stance on restructuring by everyone—that is the decisive guarantee of the success of the revolutionary changes underway today.

The election meetings have become a serious, responsible discussion of the country's future, the people's fate, and their urgent needs. This was very evident at a meeting today between representatives of party and social organizations and labor collectives of the oblast and N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, candidate USSR people's deputy from the CPSU.

The speakers at the meeting, V.N. Ababkov, breakage face workers team leader at the "Abashevskaya" pit; G.A. Ushakova, faculty chief at Kemerovo Medical Institute; V.K. Dybenko, director of the "Chusovitinskiy" sovkhoz; V.I. Makarkin, chairman of of Anzhero-Sudzhensk gorispolkom; D.M. Plotnikov, team leader at the "Kemerovokhimstroy" trust; and V.I. Ovdenko, first secretary of Kemerovo party gorkom, shared their thoughts on the course of restructuring in this major industrial region of the country. They noted that the successes now achieved are indisputable, but at the same time the resolution of many social and ecological problems in the region is dragging on, and this leads to justified complaints from the Kuzbass working people.

N.I. Ryzhkov addressed those present. Our whole country is living for the elections, he said. The time that has passed since the day the Soviet people began to nominate their candidates has bene unusual in every respect. Perhaps the most important thing is that such fine human qualities as frankness, openness, a democratic approach, and tolerance of other people's opinions in polemics and the joint quest for the right decisions are beginning to emerge increasingly clearly. This is indeed a school of democracy. Such a businesslike, constructive, and, as a rule, principled debate can only be conducted by people who have recognized and experienced profoundly their own hard-won convictions, which were formed and strengthened in these difficult years of the country's awakening.

Every candidate deputy, in formulating his deputy's platform, should take a very responsible view of the enormous emotional upsurge in society, the constructive charge carried by the preelection events. Only a clear, well-thought-out program of action that accords with citizens' vital interests and is supported and approved by voters will enable him to cope successfully with the difficult duties of a deputy. N.I. Ryzhkov expressed sincere gratitude to party organizations, labor collectives, and everyone who submitted and supported the proposal to nominate him as a candidate deputy.

The election platform of candidate deputies from the CPSU, the speaker stated, is made up of the provisions contained in the CPSU Central Committee appeal to the party and the Soviet people. What they amount to is that all our plans, intentions, and actions are ultimately aimed at radically renewing Soviet society. Our aim is to build a democratic society of full people's power, a society that will prompt legitimate pride in our country and a sense of personal dignity in every Soviet person. Our task is to create a strong, dynamically developing, efficient economy with clear prospects and humane goals. Our highest duty is to create all the conditions for the constant growth of every Soviet person's well-being and his spiritual development, and to provide him with social and legal protection and the other opportunities guaranteed by the socialist system. Our sacred obligation is to defend the Soviet people's peaceful life.

Much is now being done in the country to achieve these goals. As M.S. Gorbachev said, our main policy today is restructuring. Without this policy it is inconceivable to hope for progress, advancement, or improvement in all spheres of our society's life.

The labor collectives are accumulating new experience in the implementation of radical economic reform, the basic guidelines for which are founded on the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. I have seen this for myself, N.I. Ryzhkov said, at meetings with Kemerovo Oblast working people. During the years of restructuring the substantial industrial potential of the Kuzbass has begun to work more powerfully and efficiently. Miners and metallurgists, the oblast's entire working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia are contributing concrete labor achievements to restructuring.

The speaker described the consistent implementation of the radical economic reform as a key factor without which the attainment of the goals set by the party and the tasks of renewing society is inconceivable. The processes taking place here are complex and contradictory. Every day furthers the reform, and every day we encounter complex problems and have to tackle them without delay. Now that the new conditions of economic management are spreading everywhere, the utmost clarity is needed on all matters of principle that radically change economic life in the country.

A large-scale national economy like our country's, with exceptionally complex and multifaceted relations that until recently were not placed on a firm economic footing, had its corresponding system of management. It is not easy to create more progressive organizational and management structures in a short time, without disrupting vitally important economic processes. The government is working consistently in this direction. The aim of this work is to ensure that the improvement of relations in the basic production component and the restructuring of management complement one another harmoniously.

N.I. Ryzhkov analyzed in detail the state of finances and the money supply in the country. In the seventies and early eighties, he recalled, a budget deficit and inflation arose and began to grow, and the purchasing power of the ruble fell. The problem of the imbalance of the population's income and expenditure remains acute. The extreme disequilibrium of the consumer market and the shortage of goods and services, a breeding ground for the black economy, persist.

The situation is strained in Kemerovo Oblast too. The plan for retail trade turnover and paid services to the population is regularly and substantially underfulfilled. In the last 2 years alone the goods sold totaled nearly R290 million less than planned. All this naturally leads to dissatisfaction among working people. Inhabitants of the oblast write about this to the USSR Council of Ministers. I admit it is distressing to read these letters, N.I. Ryzhkov observed, but I think it is necessary to know the whole truth. Untruths are always to our loss, especially if they concern people's pressing needs. And we have plenty of bitter experience of this. The Kuzbass, which can make anything—"from a needle to an airplane"—is not yet utilizing its potential. Whereas the oblast ranks 13th in the RSFSR in terms of the total volume of industrial production, in terms of consumer goods it is 59th. At the same time, in the last 3 years alone the population's monetary income increased by nearly a billion rubles here, and spending on the purchase of goods and services by only R0.4 billion. The ruble you earn is devalued, it is not matched by a full range of consumer goods and services.

The situation is no better in the sphere of production, which every year also exacerbates the imbalance between the money supply at the enterprises' disposal and the actual availability of material resources. It is clear today that unless we reverse the trends that have emerged and implement radical measures to normalize the financial situation, we will not succeed in ensuring stable economic development, and thus resolving the most important social tasks. Not only the economic reform itself, but restructuring as a whole will be in jeopardy. That is why the improvement of the country's financial state holds a special place among the main tasks of economic policy.

In order to have a real opportunity to overcome financial imbalance, it is necessary resolutely to eliminate excess spending and begin to live according to our means. We should begin to reduce capital investments. There is real potential here for saving, because the scope and scale of construction is not in accordance with what we have at our disposal, either from the viewpoint of finances, or from the standpoint of availability of resources and the assimilation of funds. Among other major sources of reductions in state budget expenditure, mention was made of measures such as the reduction of defense spending, the elimination of lossmaking enterprises, and the reduction of spending on maintaining the management apparatus.

An important sign of the turn toward a qualitatively new economy is the intensification of its social thrust. We have begun, N.I. Ryzhkov stated, a resolute departure from the course that led to the preservation of an ultraconservative, top-heavy production structure, and we are already erecting a new framework that accords with the demands of the radical reorientation of the economy toward satisfying people's needs. If you take into account the fact that we have to do all this in the course of a 5-year plan period, it will become clear how complex this economic maneuver is. It took time and major efforts to achieve changes here. As a result there has been a change for the better in the most important national economic relationship—the correlation between the output of the "A" and "B" groups of industry. In 1988 we managed to achieve a preferential (40 percent higher) rate of growth in the production of consumer goods as compared with the production of the means of production. In the first 2 years of the 5-year plan the trend was in the opposite direction.

The social reorientation of the economy can only become a reality if the country's agro-industrial complex begins to develop efficiently and yield tangible results. This is a key issue in our entire policy, the USSR Council of Ministers chairman stressed. It is an exceptionally topical and complex task that requires urgent resolution, because in recent years the strain on the consumer market for food products has been increasing.

Speaking about the need for decisive improvements in the countryside, the speaker noted that much has to be done to improve the economic mechanism and radically restructure the management of the agro-industrial complex. The essence of the transformations here is to carry out in the near future a resolute switch to the development of agro-industrial production on the basis of diversity in the forms of economic activity—kolkhozes, sovkhozes, cooperatives, lease collectives, peasant farms, citizens' personal plots. It is necessary to grant full autonomy to the basic component of agricultural production, hand over to the union republics the functions of management of agro-industrial production, and step up their role and responsibility in satisfying the population's requirements for food products. These and other questions, the speaker said, will be the subject of an in-depth discussion at the forthcoming party Central Committee plenum.

The most serious attention is now being devoted to the question of saturating the market with goods and services and ensuring an annual growth in the production of goods and paid services of at least 10 percent in 1989-1990. Last December a decision was adopted to reassign 280 enterprises to produce goods in mass demand.

The urgency of many problems can be lessened and the production potential of the consumer complex substantially increased through various forms of cooperation and individual labor activity. The cooperative movement is developing rapidly. At the same time serious shortcomings have emerged in the activity of cooperatives, which sometimes lead to a negative attitude toward them. It is not uncommon for certain cooperative workers to put personal gain first, rather than the satisfaction of the public's requirements, and for the desire to make money at all costs, disregarding the principles and morality of society, to prevail. This gives rise to unhealthy trends and directly harms the prestige of the cooperative movement. I think measures of a regulatory nature are necessary and justified in this connection, and the state has the right to apply such measures in accordance with the law. Although one can to some extent understand the dissatisfaction some cooperative workers feel about bans, what is quite incomprehensible, the speaker observed, is the viewpoint of some of the mass media, which launched a campaign against this decision.

Going on to dwell on the present scientific and technical level of the national economy, N.I. Ryzhkov stressed that it is characterized by great unevenness and contrasts. On the one hand, we have magnificent achievements, such as the "Energiya-Buran" space system, and on the other, profound scientific and technological laggardness in many sectors, which according to today's view of things is simply contrary to common sense. The main reason for the laggardness in many areas of science and technology lies in the national economic management mechanism that operated formerly. It did not contain a system of motivation to stimulate any collective to seek innovations and make material prosperity impossible without exploitation of the achievements of scientific and technical progress.

Recalling Lenin's proposition that the economy determines policy, the speaker said: Only now, in the conditions of restructuring, is it becoming clear how firm this link is and why the priority task for the country is the program of profound transformations of the political system put forward by the 19th all-union party conference. One of the most important aspects of these transformations is the need for a fundamentally new approach to the development of the territories, that is, a new regional policy. I am talking about our republics, krays and oblasts, cities and rayons, settlements and villages, and their role and place in the cause of restructuring.

The economic essence of the new regional policy is extremely simple: Every territory should live and develop on the basis of its own resources. But these resources must be earned, and must cover one's own expenditure. The existing system of economic relations has not moved the territories in this direction. In Kemerovo Oblast, for instance, only 11 percent of actual expenditure was covered by the local budget resources. This situation is patently abnormal, and it does not only exist here. Of course, in order to create the conditions for regional self-financing, it is necessary to review the structure of sources of local budgets and strengthen their income base. The government has already begun this work.

The new regional policy also presupposes the organization of effective interterritorial collaboration. The question of specialization by individual regions in the production of the most efficient types of output and of exchanging them is becoming highly topical. It is unreasonable, at best, to give up the advantages arising from climatic or other objective conditions. The main thing here is to ensure real self-management and self-financing by the territories and place their relationships on a reliable economic footing.

Another very important aspect of the new regional policy is self-management. We all rightly associate this with political reform and the restoration of full power to the soviets. What we need is not simply power for the people, but real people's power. This is no easy task; it requires a break with existing relations and a radical redistribution of responsibilities between the center and the localities. Reviving the full power of the soviets means creating a management system under which state economic and social policy will everywhere be implemented first and foremost through the soviets and their executive organs.

The functions of local soviets at different levels need clearer demarcation. At present powers are unjustifiably concentrated at kray and oblast levels. This makes links with the population difficult. It is necessary to ensure the free operation of self-management principles first and foremost where people actually live and work and satisfy most of their needs, that is to say, in the villages, settlements, cities, and rayons.

N.I. Ryzhkov devoted great attention to resolving ecological problems in the regions. The formation of a modern, highly developed social sphere, he stated, is inconceivable without the organic unity of man and nature, without the highest possible sense of responsibility on the part of the present generation for preserving and augmenting the country's priceless wealth. Unfortunately this truth was grossly flouted for a long time.

Considerable efforts are now being made to rectify the situation that has arisen. In Kemerovo Oblast, for instance, several production units and one of the coke furnaces have been closed down. But that is not enough to radically restructure the utilization of nature. One thing is clear: The ecological situation can only be cleaned up by retooling enterprises on the basis of ecologically clean technologies. We are proceeding persistently along this path.

But in order to form an idea of the scale of this work, the USSR Council of Ministers chairman noted, it is necessary to bear in mind that the extent of obsolescence of fixed production capital in the national economy amounts to 40 percent. Closing these production units means halting and even turning back the country's socioeconomic development. We should adopt a considered approach to this very important problem and attack it consistently and firmly, resolving the tasks stage by stage. Of course, before all this can be done it is necessary, as the saying goes, to measure seven times [and cut once; Russian proverb]. We should especially avoid swinging from one extreme to the other.

Man and his family are at the center of the key problems of restructuring. This is the main evidence, N.I. Ryzhkov said in conclusion, of how profoundly the revolutionary changes permeate our life. We must restore people's respect for labor, their profound respect for skill, conscientiousness, and responsibility—those high moral values that are the country's public asset. It is a question of reviving true collectivism, in which people can be fully aware of who they are, what they are doing, and what they have achieved through their own efforts. The normalization of the moral climate requires, in addition to an improved system of material incentives for ideas, the creation of fundamentally new moral incentives that give people a real interest in labor.

The times demand that we learn persistently and consistently to work in new conditions. If the process of renewal in public life is to be victorious and become clear to everyone, people need substantial help to master the new political and economic ethos. The new role of the party, which began the transformations for the sake of man and is persistently putting them into practice, is inestimable.

From 9-11 March N.I. Ryzhkov comprehensively studied the course of restructuring in Kemerovo Oblast, inquired about the work of party and soviet organs and labor collectives in implementing the economic reform in industry and agriculture, and devoted great attention to problems of social reconstruction in the cities and villages of the Kuzbass.

In the course of meetings with the inhabitants of Novokuznetsk, Prokopyevsk, and Kemerovo there were detailed discussions of the urgent problems of people in Siberia—housing, food, and ecology. There was a businesslike consultation with working people on how to act more effectively to rectify the situation regarding supplies of consumer goods to the population, modernize the housing stock in Siberian cities and villages, and provide social security.

Visiting the West Siberian Metallurgical Combine, N.I. Ryzhkov familiarized himself with the system of introducing the latest achievements of scientific and technical progress into practice, and met workers from the rolling mills. In conversations with workers at the Zapsib working people's fish farm and personal transport repair shop, questions of the metallurgists' participation in the fulfillment of the food program, the production of consumer goods, and the development of the service sphere were touched on.

At the "Vpered" kolkhoz in Novokuznetskiy Rayon there were talks with kolkhoz members, specialists, and farm leaders, in which topical questions of increasing the efficiency of agricultural production were discussed. It was noted that better utilization of land and the material base of livestock raising can be achieved on the basis of the contract and lease forms of collective labor and by stepping up the influence of specialists on the end results. Attention was drawn to retaining cadres in the countryside and raising the next generation of grain growers and livestock workers.

Various aspects of the oblast program "100" were discussed; the program provides for the regeneration of precisely that number of formerly doomed villages in the Kuzbass on the basis of the resources of industrial enterprises. N.I. Ryzhkov was briefed on the creation of agricultural combines on territories adjacent to industrialized cities in the oblast.

In Prokopyevsk N.I. Ryzhkov visited the Dzerzhinskiy mine and met with coal enterprise workers. Questions of introducing modern technologies, strengthening economic accountability relations, and developing the economic autonomy of mines and associations were examined. There was an exchange of opinions on the potential for overcoming disproportions between the production and social infrastructures in mining cities and settlements in the Kuzbass.

The ecological problems of the oblast's industrial centers were touched on during a visit to the Kemerovo "Azot" production association. The need was noted for unconditional fulfillment of government decisions on cleaning up the water and atmosphere in Kemerovo and Novokuznetsk.

The USSR Council of Ministers chairman visited new housing districts in Novokuznetsk and the oblast center and trade enterprises.

N.I. Ryzhkov met with representatives of party and social organizations and labor collectives in the oblast, and addressed them.

Flowers were laid at the V.I. Lenin Monument in Kemerovo and the Eternal Flame on Heroes' Boulevard in Novokuznetsk.

N.I. Ryzhkov was accompanied on his tour of the oblast by A.G. Melnikov, first secretary of Kemerovo CPSU Obkom, and A.F. Lyutenko, chairman of the oblispolkom.

Council of Ministers Suspends Siberian Gas Project

LD1003185989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1728 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, 10 Mar (TASS)—The USSR Council of Ministers Presidium has decided that the development of gas deposits on the Yamal Peninsula in Siberia should be delayed. The reason is the insufficient feasibility of the project, which takes little account of the consequences of the industrial encroachment into the far north of USSR, IZVESTIYA reported today.

The newspaper notes the deteriorating situation of the small Nenets ethnic group that lives on the peninsula—they are reindeer breeders, hunters, and fishermen, who "are essentially being deprived of their means of existence by the poorly thought out offensive on the tundra."

"Gas recovery workers, geologists, and builders destroy the 'reindeer moss' cover, which results in a reduction of the reindeer herds. Fish disappears from the polluted rivers and lakes and hunting animals are moving further and further away from the roar of the machinery. For that matter, soon there will no longer be anywhere left for them to move to. The local residents, losing their habitat, are not receiving anything in exchange."

"The industrial invasion of the polar regions has been temporarily halted. In the future their fate will in many respects depend on the stance of the local soviets. The country's national economy needs natural gas—this is indisputable. However, the times when it was taken at any price are now past," the paper stresses.

More on Election Campaigns of Peoples' Deputies

Zaykov Gives Moscow Election Address

LD1003214689 Moscow Television Service in Russianll 1800 GMT 10 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] In Moscow today, Lev Nikolayevich Zaykov, a candidate USSR people's deputy from the CPSU, met representatives of Moscow's party and public organizations. At the meeting there was a businesslike and constructive discussion on how to implement the ideas of restructuring and make them a tangible reality of today. It was stressed that the role of the Party as the political vanguard is to unite all strata of society in the struggle for restructuring, operating not by diktat and command, but through the force of argument and example and by democratic methods. [video shows a large auditorium, with Zaykov and five other people sitting on a stage; various speakers seen, but not heard; then Zaykov speaking, intercut with shots of the audience throughout]

Addressing those attending the meeting, Comrade Zaykov said, in part:

[Begin Zaykov recording] As a communist and as a Soviet person, I deeply believe in the victory of restructuring. To that end, I will employ every effort and all my knowledge and experience. It should be stressed that an absolute majority of candidate people's deputies firmly maintain the standpoints of restructuring, the standpoints of the party's electoral platform. Their programs are imbued with concern for the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic and sociopolitical development and are filled with a sincere wish for the rapid improvement of our whole way of life. Muscovites' support for realistically minded and energetic candidates will provide further confirmation of the irreversibility of restructuring.

Comrades, the country is going through a crucial stage in the implementation of the intended reforms. We still have insufficient experience of working in conditions of democratization and glasnost. The style of work of party, soviet, and economic bodies that would accord fully with the tasks of restructuring has not assumed its final shape. We are all learning as we go along. We are constantly searching. What is important is that the party see the processes that are taking place, analyze them deeply, and seek and find ways of overcoming the braking mechanism.

The main results of the first 3 years of the 5-Year plan period are well known. In many areas of the socioeconomic sphere there are perceptible positive advances. The party does not exaggerate them, but nor is it permissible to belittle what has been done, or to ignore the new things that have emerged in recent times and in those directions where it earlier seemed impossible to get anything moving. Positive changes have begun in all spheres of the national economy. However, they are taking place far more slowly than we would all like, than is necessary, and sometimes in a contradictory fashion. The situation in the economy remains difficult. In some sectors we have managed to make notable advances, while in others people have been virtually unaware of any changes; in particular cases, the situation has become even more difficult. New problems, not taken into account previously, which cause the economic mechanism to go into a skid, have also come to light. It has to be admitted that in a number of directions, reform is proceeding with distortions and retreats.

As a candidate deputy I will do everything possible to see that the decisions on vitally important matters are not taken hurriedly, as sometimes happens, but after in-depth consideration; and, most importantly, that the measures to implement them are specified. [end recording]

Yeltsin TV Election Debate Reported

LD1303103789 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] In the framework of the election campaign, a television debate has brought together two Moscow candidates, auto plant manager Yevgeniy Brakov and government minister Boris Yeltsin.

Organizations Mark Opening of Elections

PM1003110189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Mar 89 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "We Vote in Favor of Restructuring. Elections of USSR People's Deputies From Public Organizations Begin Tomorrow"]

[Text] The first election campaign in the era of restructuring is entering the home stretch. Nominated candidates are still holding meetings with voters in labor collectives and at their place of residence, programs and instructions are still being heatedly discussed, and district electoral commissions are still making preparations for the crucial day—26 March—while public organizations are already embarking on the election of their representatives to the supreme organ of state power. The first of them—the All-Union Society of Inventors and Rationalizers and the USSR Union of Theater Workers—will choose their deputies tomorrow at enlarged plenums. As is well known, public organizations have been allocated one-third of the seats—750—in the future USSR Congress of People's Deputies.

The features of the current electoral campaign have from the very outset placed it at the center of our country's sociopolitical life—in terms of substance rather than form. The possibility of making a real choice based on free nomination of an unlimited number of candidates and comparison of their positions through open polemics on ways to resolve the most acute social problems has drawn millions of people of various ages and professions into the election debate. In determining the contenders for the mandate of deputy it was once again moral criteria and not only "questionnaire" criteria that proved to have a high value. The work of electoral commissions has acquired new dimensions of glasnost. Although it is too early, of course, to sum up the results of this period, one conclusion may be deemed indisputable: The preparations for the elections have been a school of democracy for all of us, an important phase in the political reform in the country.

For the first time in the practice of our state building many public organizations and candidate people's deputies have directly submitted their own election programs. The CPSU platform expounded in the Central Committee's January appeal "To the Party and the Soviet People" encompassed all the urgent problems in our society—economic, social, ethnic, and environmental. The party not only indicated these problems but also proposed a range of comprehensively substantiated, coordinated measures to resolve them. These measures are meeting with people's intense support, especially since some of them are already, at the election phase, being practically implemented—on resolving the food problem, for instance. That is why, for all the diversity of the priority areas in the activity of the new organs of power, most candidates are stating their intention to actively promote the implementation of the party platform.

The nearer the elections come, the greater the number of voters who have the opportunity to meet with the candidate deputy nominees—both from public organizations and from territorial and national-territorial okrugs. But whereas people in the okrugs are able personally to express their impressions of these meetings in their voting, public organizations need to take particular care to consider the proposals and comments put forward. Regardless of the number of nominated candidacies, the election of candidates at plenums, conferences, and congresses will only avoid becoming a mere formality if the public organizations' electoral commissions strictly comply with the law, by generalizing and informing those taking part in the voting of the results of the meetings, of the arguments voiced there for and against particular candidates, and of the instructions received from grassroots collectives. Using all the means at their disposal, electoral commissions must give people timely explanations of the voting procedure and the features of the new type of ballot paper, which may have an impact when counting the votes.

A very great deal depends on the electoral commissions directly in organizing the ballot. They are responsible for equipping the premises and ensuring that voters' wishes remain secret. The experience of previous stages of the election campaign shows that it is not only the results of the elections—although this is indisputably important—that depends on the precise observance of so-called procedural "technicalities." Something more is at stake: the establishment of trust in the future organs of power and in their ability to build a life for society based on the principles of social justice.

Of course, the people whose names are on the ballot papers are experiencing special feelings. Those who receive a vote of confidence on polling day from their public organization will henceforth have a new measure of responsibility—not only to their colleagues but to the entire people. Every step and any decision to which a future deputy gives his mandate must be verified against the aspirations of millions of people and their hopes for the socialist renewal of the motherland. The democratization of society and broad glasnost in the work of state organs will always guarantee vigorous nationwide support for honest service to the cause of restructuring. At the same time candidates who do not receive the requisite majority should not feel left out: Their experience, erudition, and public activeness will be employed without fail. There will be no losers at all in the current elections: Our democracy will win, as will all society.

The preparations for the elections have had an impact on the overall sociopolitical situation in the country. The civic makeup of the voter himself can be said to have changed: He has become more active and more interested in the problems of the fatherland, he is gaining the depth of knowledge and breadth of outlook necessary to take part in managing society's affairs, and he is more than ever prepared to elect deputies in an aware and democratic fashion.

The election campaign is still under way in the localities. We will all—Communists, Komsomol members, members of trade unions and voluntary societies, scientists, and members of creative unions—follow very attentively the choice made by our representatives in public organizations. As we take part in the election campaign and vote for our candidates, we will all be aware that no one will solve our problems for us. Restructuring must be defended and advanced vigorously and consistently. This is our common national objective.

Electoral Commission on Registration

LD1003201589 Moscow TASS in English 1849 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 10 TASS—By TASS correspondent Valeriy Kiosa:

There are two claimants, on the average, to each mandate of a people's deputy. This is shown by the results of the registration of candidates to people's deputies that were summed up here on Friday at a session of the Central Electoral Commission.

A total of 2,895 candidates have been registered at 1,500 constituencies of the country. 1,449 candidates were registered at 750 territorial constituencies and 1,446—at

750 national-territorial constituencies. Another 750 deputies will for the first time represent public organisations at the supreme body of state power. Their election will start on Saturday.

In 953 constituencies there are two candiates per one mandate, and in 109 constituencies three. There are constituencies where four, five or even more candidates per one mandate were registered. The biggest number of candidates was registered at one of the Moscow constituencies (12 candidates) and in Riga, capital of Latvia (11 candidates). At the same time, one candidate was registered at 384 constituencies.

It was pointed out at the commission's session that communists account for 85.3 per cent of candidates. Over 37 per cent are workers and collective farmers, 83.4 per cent are men, 3.4 per cent are member of the young communist league. Representatives of 69 nations became candidates to people's deputies of the USSR.

"The main characteristic feature of the electoral campaign is that unique political experience is being accumulated", Vladimir Orlov, head of the Central Electoral Commission, told TASS. "Along with the rejuvenation of the economic, social and cultural spheres, the elections are developing and supplementing the perestroyka process in the USSR".

In his opinion, the new law on elections has passed, on the whole, the strength test: It activated our society. At the same time, a number of its provisions should be revised. The analysis of the electoral campaign will help upgrade the legislation.

Intelligentsia Begins To Elect Deputies

LD1203115989 Moscow TASS in English 0946 GMT 12 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 12 TASS—By TASS correspondent Boris Lavrenyuk: An enlarged plenary meeting of the Union of Theatre Workers of the USSR opened in Moscow on Sunday to elect its representatives to the country's supreme body of state authority.

Next to elect their deputies to the Soviet Parliament will be the unions of architects, artists, cinematographers, composers, journalists, writers, and designers. Under the new law on elections, one third of people's deputies of the USSR (750 out of 2,250) will be elected directly by public organisations which they will represent.

Artistic unions will receive a total of 75 mandates. Besides, many workers of culture, literature, and art are represented on the lists of the Soviet Culture Foundation, the Academy of Arts, the All-Union Musical Society, and other public organizations. They also stand election in constituencies. So, creative intelligentsia receives the widest possibilities for parliamentary work. Representatives of the art world had 50 mandates in the former Supreme Soviet (parliament) of the USSR. Some of them are candidates for re-election, among them composer Tikhon Khrennikov, actor Kirill Lavrov, dancer Makhmud Esymbayev, artist Dzemma Skulme, and several more of their colleagues. But this is an exclusion [as received] rather than a rule. The majority of the present deputies—representatives of creative professions—decided to devote themselves wholly to art, giving to others an opportunity to engage in state activity.

Singer Irina Arkhipova, composer Rodion Shchedrin, choreographer Vladimir Vasilyev, designer Zurab Tsereteli and many other candidates to deputies are eminent people in art. Now, they are fully determined to test themselves in the new role, the role of deputies, to take part in renewing the cultural policy.

'Rationalizers' Elect Deputies

LD1103143689 Moscow TASS in English 1324 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 11 TASS—By TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov: The first five people's deputies of the USSR have been named on Saturday by the results of the elections held here at an enlarged plenary meeting of the central council of the all-union society of rationalizers and inventors, a public organisation with a membership of about 15 millions.

The candidates elected people's deputies of the USSR by secret ballot are employee of the Belorussian Academy of Sciences' Electronics Institute Vladimir Bolbasov, head of the New Technology Department of the Cherepovets Steel Mill (North of the Russian Federation) Leonid Danilov, worker of the Sverdlovsk Machine-Building Factory (Urals) Leonid Dedyukhin, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Vladimir Revnivtsev and worker of the pure metals plant in Svetlovodsk (the Ukraine) Boris Sushko.

As deputies of the supreme legislature of the USSR they intend to actively promote acceleration of socio-economic development of Soviet society, to promote the USSR's progress in science and technology on the basis of comprehensive development of innovation activities and broad use of innovatory proposals and developments in the national economy.

The ballot boxes were opened by the Electoral Commission members in the presence of representatives of the press, radio and television, not only of the USSR by also other countries, specifically Japan, United States, Canada and Italy.

Today's event has given the start to elections of people's deputies of the USSR from public organisations. A total of 750 people, a third of the supreme legislature of the USSR, are to be elected from public organisations, in accordance with the election law. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, trade unions, the Academy of Sciences, unions of professionals, public foundations and societies are among over 30 public organisations which have the right to nominate their deputies.

There are 880 candidates for 750 seats. 15 per cent of them are industrial workers, 10.3 per cent—agricultural workers, 35.7 per cent—scientists, public health workers and professionals. Women account for 22.5 per cent. 88.4 per cent are members and candidate members of the CPSU. Citizens of 40 nationalities, representing all union republics, were nominated candidates to the supreme legislature of the USSR from public organisations.

Elections of people's deputies of the USSR from public organisations will continue till March 23, and elections by constituences will be held all over the country on March 26.

Candidate Addresses Tashkent Electorate

PM0203093789 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 17 Feb 89 pp 1,3

[UZTAG report: "To Ensure the Supremacy of the Law"]

[Text] Almalyk, Tashkent Oblast, 14 Feb—Hundreds of working people from industrial enterprises in this industrial center of Uzbekistan today came to a meeting with their candidate for USSR people's deputy in Bukinskiy Territorial Electoral District 602—A.S. Pavlov, chief of the CPSU Central Committee State Law Department.

Addressing the meeting, A.S. Pavlov thanked those present for the great trust they have placed in him.

Powerful impetus has been given to the revolutionary process of renewal by the 27th CPSU Congress and 19th All-Union Party Conference, which developed the strategy and tactics of action and an extensive program for our movement forward. The concept of restructuring and its ideological-theoretical and organizational foundations have been defined in the last 4 years. The main political results of what has been done so far are: The moral improvement in the social atmosphere that has now begun, a real deepening of democracy, and the involvement of the broad masses in the processes taking place in the country. The party is convinced that all our plans can only be put into practice when the individual becomes the main protagonist of restructuring. Noticeable changes are taking place in the economy: Since January this year all industry has been working in the new conditions of economic management and on the basis of the principles of economic accountability and self-financing. The first positive results have appeared: The indicators for national income and labor productivity have improved.

A.S. Pavlov noted that very complex processes are taking place in the public consciousness. Restructuring thinking and smashing the customary stereotypes is the most difficult thing of all. The process is a painful one. Some people are trying to support the thesis that restructuring has allegedly given rise to problems and difficulties in the economy, the social sphere, and interethnic relations. No, the speaker pointed out, all this has been inherited from the past and has been building up for decades—restructuring has simply brought these problems and difficulties to light. What is more, one of restructuring's main tasks is to cure our society of its chronic ills.

The party sees its main task as being to consistently implement its active social program and ensure a steady improvement in the people's well-being on the basis of the planned renewal and development of the socialist economy, enhanced efficiency of social production, and acceleration of scientific and technical progress.

This is not just another program. The party has begun with itself in the reform of the political system. Its significance as the political vanguard of society has been clearly defined first and foremost. The CPSU is moving away from leadership of everyday economic affairs and its substitution of state bodies and is concentrating its efforts on studying the topical problems of socialist theory, domestic and foreign policy, and organizational and ideological work among the masses. Practical steps are being taken to enhance the role of elected bodies, and changes are being made in the functions and structure of the party apparatus. The apparatus of the CPSU Central Committee alone has been reduced by 40 percent. Commissions have been set up under the Central Committee that are responsible for all the most important aspects of party activity.

The party's self-purification and renewal are strengthening the people's faith in their experienced vanguard: This explains the fact that 82 percent of the candidates for people's deputies are Communists, which is more than in previous elections.

A.S. Pavlov went on to point out that discussions on the most varied problems have become a characteristic feature of the times and that a dialogue is developing between the press, radio, and television and Soviet people. All this offers very great potential for restructuring.

A.S. Pavlov dwelt on the questions of organizing demonstrations, marches, rallies, and meetings. Until recently, this question was not clearly regulated by legal norms. The results of this are well known.

Our state's path lies in consistently developing democracy and ensuring full power for the people on the firm foundations of legality and strong, conscious social discipline. The party is decisively opposed to lack of discipline, anarchy, and violations of legality—on whatever pretext they may be committed. The consistent realization of constitutional rights and freedoms and socialist pluralism of opinions are incompatible with extremism and anti-Sovietism. The Law on Voluntary Societies and Bodies of Social Self-Management currently being drafted is intended to give the social movement a clear socialist thrust.

The candidate for people's deputy informed his electorate about work on the Law on the Mass Media, which must also regulate the activity of the press and help it to feel greater confidence and responsibility.

The candidate for people's deputy devoted particular attention in his election program to the building of a rule-of-law socialist state. A.S. Pavlov noted that it is primarily necessary to ensure the /supremacy of the law/ [words within slantlines published in boldface—FBIS] in every sphere of life. But what do we come up against today? There are approximately 30,000 all-union laws, decrees, and government resolutions and directions, the majority of which are hopelessly out of date but have still not been abolished and continue formally to remain in force.

In the conditions of radical economic reform, substantial changes have to be made to legislation on socialist ownership, planning, financial, tax, and economic relations, and environmental protection.

A large block of draft laws are being prepared, oriented toward active reform of the political system and the further broadening of democracy. A great deal of work lies ahead to strengthen people's legal protection and consolidate the guarantees of Soviet people's political, economic, and social rights and freedoms.

The task of renewing the legal base which regulates changes in civil status [grazhdanskiy oborot] and labor, housing, pension, and other questions affecting the lives of working people has important significance. There are plans to cardinally review criminal legislation, procedural law, and corrective labor laws. In total, more than 60 new laws have to be drafted this year alone.

Among the tasks of paramount importance A.S. Pavlov named the need to enhance the authority of the courts and the legal profession, restructure the activity of public prosecutor bodies and internal affairs organs, and transfer state arbitration bodies to the new work system. Finally, legal reform is very closely connected with the tasks of increasing our society's legal awareness, creating a unified all-state, all-party program of general legal education, and strengthening the education of citizens, officials, and all cadres in a spirit of respect for and compliance with Soviet laws.

A.S.Pavlov informed his voters on progress in preparations for the CPSU Central Committee plenum on interethnic relations. Important laws are being drafted which aim to eliminate deformations and distortions in the national issue and provide for the further development of the national state system and interethnic intercourse.

Noting the constructive program of socioeconomic development evolved at the recent Tashkent Oblast party conference, the candidate for people's deputy drew the voters' attention to still unresolved issues, including the task of improving the population's food supply. The volume of output of meat, milk, fruit, and vegetables remains low. Bukinskiy, Bekabadskiy, and Pskentskiy Rayons regularly fail to meet targets for the output of livestock products, potatoes, fruit, and berries. It is now tremendously important to build modern storage facilities and transfer trade to working on the basis of direct "field-to-store" ties. The time has come to take a closer look at the structure of agricultural production.

A.S. Pavlov analyzed the housing problem in detail. One of the paramount tasks is to extensively utilize youth housing complexes and build new projects using the own-resources method. A.S. Pavlov dwelt in detail on other important issues in his program: The task of expanding the network of medical and preschool institutions, the unfavorable ecological situation, and the deterioration in the law and order situation in a number of cities and population centers.

Aleksandr Sergeyevich Pavlov said in conclusion that he is aware of the enormous responsibility that rests with him. He assured those present that, if elected a USSR people's deputy, he will devote all his strength, energy, knowledge, and experience to implementing the party's plans for the country's revolutionary renewal.

A.S. Pavlov answered numerous questions.

On the same day he met working people at a large number of economic units in Bukinskiy Rayon, Tashkent Oblast.

The meetings with voters in Bukinskiy 602 Territorial Electoral Okrug were attended by M.M. Mirkasymov, first secretary of Tashkent party obkom.

Lithuanian General Interviewed

PM1003140389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Mar 89 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Major General Steponas Nekroshus by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Major Yu. Rubtsov under the rubric "Candidate Deputy: Brush Strokes for a Portrait": "Maj Gen S. Nekroshus: 'We are Answerable for the Whole Country'"; place and date of interview not given; first three paragraphs are correspondent's introduction]

[Excerpts] My interlocutor is Maj Gen Steponas Nekroshus, member of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, candidate member of the republic Communist Party Central Committee, and chief of staff of

Lithuanian SSR civil defense. The okrug electoral commission registered him as candidate USSR people's deputy for the Vilniusskiy-Leninskiy No 225 National-Territorial Electoral Okrug.

Here are some of Maj Gen S. Nekroshus' biographical details: He was born in 1936 in Kedaynskiy rayon in Lithuania into a large peasant family with little land. In 1955 he entered the general military school in Ryazan and left it with top grades. He continued to successfully master his military knowledge: He graduated from the M.V. Frunze Military Academy and the USSR Armed Forces General Staff Military Academy with distinction and a gold medal.

He had lengthy service in the Armed Forces. From the post of military district deputy chief of staff he was appointed to the post of Lithuanian SSR civil defense chief of staff. Maj Gen S. Nekroshus was awarded the order "For Service to the Motherland in the USSR Armed Forces" II class for his selfless actions in eliminating the accident at the Chernobyl AES.

[Rubtsov] Comrade Major General, I know that people living in several electoral okrugs would like to see you as their elected representative. Why did you consent to run in the 225th okrug?

[Nekroshus] The choice was dictated by the fact that there is a military school and other collectives of servicemen within this okrug. I hope that during my 34 years of service I studied Army problems profoundly, and it is not by hearsay that I know about the inadequate social provision for people in uniform. They need their own deputy, and best of all someone like themselves—a military man.

[Rubtsov] How broad is your experience as a deputy? Will it help you if you are elected a USSR people's deputy?

[Nekroshus] I have a great deal of experience as a deputy, and recently as a member of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Presidium. I tell you—these are some universities! Take, for example, our republic parliament's last session. It was a stormy one, it was accompanied by rallies and pickets organized by informal groupings, which KRASNAYA ZVEZDA reported, as I remember. Was such an attitude toward the session purely accidental? Of course not. The draft USSR Laws on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution and Elections of USSR People's Deputies, and the republic Law on the Lithuanian Constitution had been submitted for discussion. However you look at it, it was complex and not straightforward.

The day before the session we examined the draft resolutions prepared by the Supreme Soviet apparatus and...rejected them. The next day, through a blunder on someone's part, the deputies received the old drafts. Should we remain silent and pretend that that is how it should be? That is not in my set of rules. So I asked to speak and drew the attention of those present to the blunder behind which, possibly, lay an attempt to stage-manage work in the old way....

[Rubtsov] Comrade Major General, in your estimation does a USSR people's deputy need some particular qualities of the politician or citizen?

[Nekroshus] Yes, we all need them, but particularly USSR people's deputies; they have to be real citizens—not cosmopolitans, but not small-town jingoists either.

You know, in my early youth my impressions of the world around me were limited to my beloved Lithuania. Over the years my filial love for it—I am not afraid to be sentimental—has been increasing, and the pain I feel for its economic difficulties and political troubles is becoming more acute.

My world's frontiers started to expand in my mind only when I mastered the military sciences in the very center of Russia. How many times after that have I had to travel around the military bases—from the line of confrontation with the NATO countries in the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany to the Far East. I bear the title of citizen of the USSR with pride, I guard its peace with other servicemen with pride, and I put all my energy into it. But I have never forgotten that I am a Lithuanian. I shall even say this: After traveling around the country so much I realized particularly how dear the land of my fathers is to me.

[Rubtsov] What is your election platform?

[Nekroshus] It is quite broad. Following the direction of the CPSU election platform, it generally boils down to a package of measures to resolutely strengthen order and discipline in the Armed Forces.

This primarily concerns the military structure's qualitative parameters. I believe that the Army needs not all draftees but only those who are suitable for service according to their physical and intellectual development. Is it possible to rely on those who are inclined toward alcohol and narcotics as armed defenders?

More attention also needs to be paid to officers. It is no secret that in order to be discharged from the personnel those who have lost interest in service literally have to commit the most awful crimes and accumulate punishments. Why, people ask, should such officers be kept in service? What do we gain by clinging on to them at any price? My deep conviction is that such people should be given the opportunity to be discharged from active service on request. [passage omitted]

[Rubtsov] As far as I know, you also have "rivals," alternate candidates, running in the same electoral okrug....

[Nekroshus] Quite serious "rivals,"—for example, E. Vilkas, director of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences Economics Institute, R. Yasinavichyus—general director of the "Vilma" Production Association. These are well-known and authoritative people in the republic, they are worthy of being plenipotentiaries of the people in the country's supreme organ of power. In other circumstances they would willingly have been given the mandate....

[Rubtsov] All the same, why did you decide to fight?

[Nekroshus] That is my nature: Once people show trust in me I must do everything possible to justify this trust. Incidentally, this is the first time in the postwar years that a Lithuanian general has been a candidate for USSR people's deputy. This means extra responsibility. I am probably not the most ideal candidate, but the electorate has the final choice.

Sajudis Election Rally Held in Vilnius

LD1303110789 Vilnius in Lithuanian to North America 0100 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Excerpts] Yesterday at midday an election rally organized by the Sajudis reform movement took place in Vilnius. Several thousand people gathered in Kalnu Parkas. [passage omitted]

Barrister Kazimieras Motieka said the following:

[Begin Motieka recording] Currently, unequivocal pressure is being exerted on Sajudis and its Seimas council by some leaders of the republican central government bodies and organs of control. For example, they say: We are going to cooperate with Sajudis on condition that Sajudis publicly declares that it stands for the Lithuanian Socialist Republic only as part of the USSR.

Here is our answer to this: Sajudis is for the restoration of the historical truth and stands for a Lithuania which the Lithuanian nation wants to have. This is our oath. [end recording]

The oath which was sworn by the members of the Lithuanian Restructuring Movement, Sajudis, Seimas council on 16 February on the occasion of the unveiling of the statue of liberty in Kaunas, was repeated by several thousand people participating in the rally. This oath was also repeated on 16 February by tens of thousands of people in Cathedral Square in Vilnius. The text of the oath is as follows:

Let Lithuania be as her people wish for it to be. Our aim is a free Lithuania. Our destiny is Lithuania. May God and all people of goodwill throughout the world help us!

Members of the Sajudis Seimas council who were nominated as candidates for the elections, and other candidates supported by Sajudis spoke at the rally. Georgijus Kanovicius, a Jewish writer, presented his election platform standing resolutely for the multiparty system.

The latest plenum of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee was given a critical evaluation by many speakers; several speeches made at the plenum were assessed at the rally as an attempt at consolidation by the forces of stagnation. [passage omitted]

* Latvian SSR Registers Candidates

WA1800057la Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 12 Feb 89 p 1

[LATINFORM correspondent V. Semenov report: "Everyone Must Decide"]

[Text]

We Are Learning Democracy

Development in our country now and even over the next 5 years will depend largely on whom we select as USSR people's deputies. On 10 February the election meeting of the Proletarskiy No 708 territorial electoral district took place in the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee House of Enlightenment. Some 10 candidates had been nominated for this district, of whom three—F.M. Kuzmin, lieutenant general and commander of the Red Banner Baltic Military District; V.F. Rymashevskiy, chairman of the Latvian SSR State Agro-Industrial Committee; and D.O. Skulme, board chairman of the Latvian SSR Union of Artists—for various reasons withdrew their nomination before the meeting. As a result, those attending had to choose from among seven candidates: Latvian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary Ya.Ya. Vagris (nominated by 57 collectives), Yu.Ya. Dobelis, an engineer-technologist from the "Lauka tseltnieks" Republic Center Association (12 nominations), E.A. Repshe, an engineer from the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences special design bureau (1 nomination), A.P. Rubiks, chairman of the Riga gorispolkom (3 nominations), E.Ya. Rozentsveyt, chairman of the "Tseriba" cooperative (1 nomination), Ya.M. Aboltinsh, deputy chairman of the Latvian SSR Gosplan (3 nominations), and A.V. Zarinsh, general director of the Latvian SSR Production Association for Power Engineering and Electrification (3 nominations).

It was thought that the high sense of responsibility on the part of the candidates and their understanding of the importance of decisions that they would make was the reason that the meeting started with procedural complications. The composition of the presidium proposed by the election commission failed to satisfy the delegates. They proposed additional candidates. Those who had collected the most votes were elected to the presidium. We shall not describe the pre-election vote counting by the counting commission and the confirmation of its rules. Let us say merely that discussion of procedural matters lasted 2 hours. It was typical that no one in the hall was indifferent to all this. I think I am not mistaken when I say that the discussion could have lasted even longer but for the chairman, director of the Riga Movie Studio R.I. Piks, who did a great deal to insure that it took place efficiently and democratically.

On the other hand, to me and to many of the delegates the discussion of procedural matters seemed excessively long. For, I repeat, 2 hours were spent on them. Candidates would have preferred to have that time to set forth their own election platforms and give more voters a chance to express their opinions on them; some voters had no chance to speak even though the meeting lasted almost 8 hours.

Fortunately, this was not a fly in the ointment. The meeting itself proceeded in a really democratic manner. One proof of this was that the candidates spoke not in order of nomination or in alphabetical order but by drawing lots.

Excerpts From Candidates' Speeches

E.A. Repshe: To find a solution to the general political and economic crisis it is necessary to elucidate why we got into. I believe that the main reason for this crisis is that over the past half-century there have been gross human rights' violations. The will of the people should be the basis of decisions made by government. This will should be expressed at periodical and nonfalsified elections. The free will of the people is associated closely with freedom of conscience and freedom of the press. Without free mass media, free discussion and realization of human rights are impossible. Independent political organizations are also needed. In order to renew and normalize our state we must have a multiparty system. Concerning other human rights matters, Latvia, like Lithuania and Estonia, is at the head of the revolutionary processes taking place today. For these nations' right to self-determination has been violated. In 1940 the USSR effected a military occupation of the democratic republic of Latvia and subsequently included it as part of the Soviet Union without holding even a pro forma national election.

Ya.Ya. Vagris: The core of my program, which was formed on the basis of the decisions of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee January Plenum, is concern for the individual. If I am elected as deputy I shall strive with all my might to make people's lives better. What must be done for this? It is essential to feed a person, get rid of the lines for products, create normal working conditions and strengthen his confidence in tomorrow. It is necessary to improve supplies of goods, and trade. The most important thing that I would like to achieve in this sphere is to improve procedure for the distribution of funds for goods produced in the republic. I favor with all my heart the priority development of agriculture. At the same time I think that this should not be insured to the detriment of the interests of the working collectives at the industrial enterprises. It is essential to accelerate movement on the housing waiting lists even more. I also believe that other important points in my program include my own participation in hastening work on a new all-union law on pensions, reaching decisions on increasing vacation time to at least 24 days, cutting back the working day for women, and solving ecological problems. I consider it my duty to augment my contribution to establishing a legal state. I favor sovereignty for Latviya within the Soviet Union and am in favor of its economic independence and for cost-accounting relations with the center and with other republics.

E.Ya. Rozentsveyt: Unemployment benefits in many countries of the world are three or four times greater than our average wages. In my opinion the economic level of our republic can compare to none of them. It is against this backdrop that all other social ills are born. And if what must be done in state affairs is not done then there will be interethnic problems. History testifies to this even though we cannot say that here within the republic we have an extraordinary situation in interethnic relations. We must proceed from the premise that the fundamental cause of any exacerbation lies in a bad economic situation. So that the disease is in the economy. If we begin to treat the economy, and this, in my view, should be the priority task, we shall also improve interethnic relations. Today we are learning to work as we should work in a legal state. Perhaps the new election law is not complete down to the last detail but we are trying to comply with it. The rate at which we approach the ideal legal state will depend on how we comply with the law.

A.V. Zarinsh: Our entire economic and our entire everyday life based on power engineering. However, we must bear in mind that along with energy go categories such as the ecology and safety and people's health. Today we obtain more than half our energy from neighboring republics. If the problems of power engineering are not solved, in my opinion the dreams of sovereignty will remain just that—dreams. The development of power engineering will make it possible to solve problems of interethnic relations and migrations, and we must strive to achieve positive changes in power engineering policy in the Soviet Union so as to prevent the energy crisis that comes closer with each passing year. In general I believe that the most important, the main directions of work are the following: defending the interests of the republic's economic and political sovereignty in the USSR Supreme Soviet, where we must fight for the creation of a legal state.

Yu.Ya. Dobelis: The existing situation, in which virtually all issues are resolved by the central leadership, is quite unacceptable. It is a possibility that the command-administrative method of management will be asserted. The consequences of that are already evident in the economy, in the ecology and in the social sphere. There is no patriotic approach to fulfillment of obligations. People are trying to consolidate only to achieve their own goals of the moment. This kind of approach can be seen in all social strata from top to bottom. The position a person holds has become an opportunity not to achieve public ends but to satisfy his own demands. This is inherent both in particular leaders and entire groups. The newly elected deputies must essentially change the approach in all state institutions with regard to all issues. This will require enormous effort and expenditure of spiritual energy, and also special ability. And here it is necessary to start precisely from the needs of the individual rather than the latest set of economic indicators.

Ya.M. Aboltinsh: Many people have had the opportunity to familiarize themselves with my program since it was published in the newspaper LAUKU AVIZE. I shall not therefore dwell on those issues that comrade Vagris has already discussed today since we are all in the same boat in leadership of the republic and I fully support the viewpoint he expressed. I think that many of the causes of the crisis situation in our society have arisen because, unfortunately, the term "national property" has here become synonymous with "mismanaged property." And because we have no manager and the economy often operates idly. I believe that the labor collectives and their leaders should become the managers. Such managers should also appear in the social sphere.

A.P. Rubiks did not present his program because he withdrew his nomination, saying that he intended to stand in one of the other electoral districts where he had been nominated.

Everyone Must Decide

During the discussion various viewpoints were expressed about the candidates platforms, It is understandable that in such a short time they were unable to express their plans fully or convince to the maximum regarding the importance of the goals that they are pursuing. Accordingly, as one of the speakers accurately noted, the present stage in the election may be compared only to the 100-meter mark in a 10,000-meter race. About 6 weeks remain before the elections. This is a long time in our quickly moving times. Each candidate will have the opportunity to prove the advantages of his own program on an equal footing with all the candidates.

It should be noted that the platforms of virtually all the candidates were commented upon by those speaking. Some were evidently displeased by the position of E.A. Repshe. Many expressed doubts about the ideological soundness of Yu.Ya. Dobelis' platform. Many critical remarks were directed at Ya.Ya. Vagris and the other candidates.

Four proposals were introduced: to recommend to the election commission of the Proletarskiy No 708 territorial election district that all candidates be registered, not to close nominations for this electoral district, and to place their names in the election bulletins; to leave three candidates on the list—namely, Ya.Ya. Vagris, Yu.Ya. Dobelis, and Ya.M. Aboltinsh; to vote for each candidate individually by name; to leave all candidates except for E.A. Repshe on the list. The voting went in favor of the first proposal.

New Kazakh Presidium Chairman Elected

LD1003123489 Moscow TASS International Service Russian 1221 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Alma-Ata, 10 Mar (TASS)—A new chairman of the Kazakhstan Supreme Soviet Presidium was elected today at a session of the highest legislative body of this Soviet republic. He is 60-year-old Makhtary Sagdiyev, member of Kazakhstan's Communist Party Central Committee, who has so far worked as the first secretary of Kokchetav obkom.

Makhtay Sagdiyev succeeds President Zakash Kamalidenov, released from the duties of Kazakhstan's Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman in December last year due to the state of his health.

Latvian Front Criticizes Interfront Demonstrations

LD1303102989 Riga in Latvian to Europe 2130 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Our republic's press has published a statement by the board of the People's Front of Latvia council which assesses the meetings and demonstrations held on 23 and 25 February on the appeal of Interfront.

The board of the People's Front of Latvia Council regards that these actions by Interfront have exacerbated even more the inter-nationalities relations in the republic.

The statement says: Under the cover of apparently patriotic slogans, an obvious hatred toward the present course of the party, socioeconomic restructuring, and democracy was expressed at the demonstrations. Threats to strike and to make use of the Army, and insults to our republic's leaders, were heard at the demonstration. This confirms once more that the cunningly offered hand of Interfront is in reality a fist directed against the Latvian people and the accord among the peoples of Latvia.

The board of the People's Front of Latvia council appeals to the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau to give a principled assessment of the actions of 23 and 25 February.

Latvian Industrial Association Established

PM0903140589 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 26 Feb 89 pp 1, 3

[LATINFORM correspondent A. Koshchuyeva report: "Horizontal Handshake. Reportage From Constituent Assembly of Latvian Association of Industrial Enterprises"]

[Excerpts] "Comrades of the press, tell the truth and nothing but the truth about us." This was the appeal from the rostrum in the House of Political Education, where on 18 February representatives of 85 of the republic's industrial enterprises decided: There is to be an association! [passage omitted]

To speak briefly about the report delivered by V. Martinson [general director of "Radiotekhnika"], it answered the chief question: Why is an association being set up? So as not to repeat myself, I will remind you that P. Maksimov, general director of "Sarkana zvaygzne," answered this question in detail in SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA 12 February. But in the report at the meeting Maksimov's points were argued more broadly, on the basis of an analysis of the economic situation in the republic. That is, it was stated that the new public organization has the aim of raising the living standards of the republic's inhabitants, seeking its economic sovereignty, creating ecologically clean production facilities, supporting the priority development of agriculture, and being geared to intensive economic factors. It will try to achieve this by breaking down departmental barriers within the republic and creating cooperative production facilities, credit banks, and joint-stock companies. In short, with the help of economic levers everything will be done to deprive the "external" and "internal" official of the right to arbitrary rule in the republic.

The managerial structure provides for five permanent working commissions in these areas: the development of enterprises under conditions of economic accountability, cooperation with agriculture, cadre problems, coordination, and encouragement of foreign economic activity. In the coreport A. Zitsmanis, general director of "Kompressor," answered the question of why the association is being set up. His concise and scientifically substantiated report was formulated laconically: Because we do not want to go on living like this under conditions of an "inverted" economy. Since, in his opinion, real progress in restructuring can be seen only at the State Committee for Statistics, industrialists themselves want to find the way out of the economic impasse. For this an enterprise needs to escape from the control of both the Moscow and the Riga bureaucrat and find economic independence through tax and credit policy. They also have the model of regional economic accountability formulated by Baltic economists. It has been figuratively compared with a holed blanket which everyone endeavors to draw over himself. They argue over how to distribute payments to the union and local budgets but bypass the question of where to get them.

Supporters of an association unequivocally stated: Today you cannot hold out alone against officialdom. They will break everyone like a twig. Just let them try to bend a "besom." Objections were raised—all kinds of associations have become fashionable. But what if we want something else?

"But you are not signing a marriage contract, and you can participate in several. It is a voluntary matter."

O. Misurkin, first deputy chairman of the republic Council of Ministers, took an interest: So we are creating an association. However you pool resources, they will not increase. How is it proposed to improve the health-care system?

"First, it is not you but we who are creating it. And second, we will concentrate and spend resources not according to the principle 'earrings for all the sisters' but purposefully: first at one enterprise, then at another."

Short speeches, businesslike proposals:

"We need legal protection from arbitrary bureaucratic rule. We will spare no expense to create our own legal service."

"Directors must be protected from officials' attacks. Let the question of their wages and bonuses be decided not at the Council of Ministers but in the labor collective council."

"Why does the Council of Ministers adopt decisions affecting industry without involving us production workers? Take the Concept of the Republic's Development Through 2005. It contains nothing but general declarations. There is no accurate estimate of how and at what expense it will be carried out."

I listened and was amazed. It was as though people had changed places. As though it was not they who had gotten away with reports of their work at conferences lasting many hours and who had endlessly complained and tried to secure something. Thus, hope had emerged, and they had seen the prospect. Now they were saying what can be got where and who will give how much to whom. [Passage omitted]

Since the rescuing of drowning people is a matter for the drowning people themselves, the association intends to invest considerable sums of money in improving the ecological situation in the republic. P. Maksimov spoke of this in detail. In particular, a cooperative production facility is being created at "Sarkana zvaygzne" to produce exhaust-gas neutralizers. Thus, the residents of Gorkiy and Suvorov Streets will be able to hope for clean air. You would think that after these speeches there should be no one left in the hall who doubted whether there should be an association of industrialists. Far from it. O. Miskurin drew fire with his speech. He said that he supports the idea of creating an association but called for a sober assessment of the situation today: There is no wholesale market, nor will there be for a long time. But the plan must be fulfilled. And since the hunger for goods is growing, enterprises must produce consumer goods worth R200 million. Replying to a question from the floor as to why the Council of Ministers cannot lift the restrictions on earnings for pensioners so as to reduce the manpower shortage, O. Miskurin said that A. Biryukova has not yet supported this idea at the CPSU Central Committee.

"But why must we ask her permission?" I. Gerchikov [general director of "Dzintars"] asked. "Why not lift the restrictions on wages and abolish rates and tariffs, thereby freeing a huge number of work hands? Then no one will remember the problem of migration. We are uniting in order to say: Comrade Biryukova, we do not agree with you and do not want to live like this. But you, Comrade Miskurin, want us to create an association and write down how many consumer goods we will make, how many spray cans we will produce, and so forth. You must welcome us because you will find it easier to work with us. Rather than 'carpeting' everyone, it is better for you to set the association strategic tasks and for us to decide together how to fulfill them. People say to us that we in the association will become monopolists and start dictating prices. But they are dictated by the incorrect structure of the economy and by the Finance Ministry, not by the market, as they should be. We do not need turnover tax and will seek its abolition."

V. Bossert, general director of the RAF [expansion unknown], took over the baton from his colleague.

"Lots of ministers have been replaced in the country, but to no avail. Because the economic system does not work. Whoever sits in ministerial seats, the existing system guarantees its bureaucratic unshakability. An association of industrial enterprises is an alternative to it. An alternative to the Gosplan, the Finance Ministry, the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, the State Committee for Prices, and the Gossnab at the center and in the provinces—to everyone who receives his wages from the state pocket. These committees must have economically accountable relations with us and ensure their existence not by means of high deductions from our profits but by fulfilling contracts with enterprises. And if they do not fulfill them, we will conclude contracts with cooperatives and scientific and technical centers. Today a Kishinev cooperative draws up planning documents for the RAF, taking 2 months instead of 2 years. We have not turned to the republic Gossnab for 2 years now because it has failed to fulfill a single one of our orders. Therefore we conclude direct contracts with union enterprises. There will be more such opportunities within the association. There is more socialism in certain capitalist countries than there is here. A system of progressive taxes operates there. Is it really difficult to formulate one here, so that production workers know what they will be left with in 1 year or 5 years? At present we do not know what will happen in 2 months' time or whether or not the ministry will take away our profits.

"Today the union Gosplan is twisting the RAF's arms, demanding the adoption of an additional target. Only within an association is it possible to rid ourselves of pressure from organizations funded by the state. Because not every small enterprise can independently enter into direct contracts with union partners. And do without the Gossnab, let us say. We have calculated that it is possible to have at least R300 million in constant circulation in the association's bank when maneuvering resources, to spend on productin or ecological projects. Of course, it is not all so easy and there will be many difficulties, but the old system must be broken. And we must not be afraid of this."

Ya. Prikulis, chief editor of Latvian Television, unexpectedly put an end to the list of arguments "pro" by declaring from the meeting platform that if the republic's inhabitants were to hear this discussion at the meeting, then the association would hardly have any opponents. Well, it is possible to add to this: Good luck....

Resolution of Latvian Industrialists

PM0903153789 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 26 Feb 89 p 3

["Resolution of Constituent Assembly of Latvian SSR Association of Industrial Enterprises"]

[Text] The Latvian SSR Association of Industrial Enterprises, which pools on a voluntary basis the potential, resources, and efforts of enterprises which concentrate them on priority problems, is intended to resolve questions of enhancing the efficient functioning of the republic's industry as a very important constituent part of the national economy. The association advocates resolving the problem of the republic's economic sovereignty on the economically accountable regional principle realized through the economic accountability of the republic's enterprises and organizations. The ultimate goal of the association's activity is to raise the living standards and enhance the well-being of the republic's population.

The economically independent enterprise must be the basis of the economic infrastructure. At the same time the association advocates eliminating the subordination of national economic projects (enterprises, kolkhozes, cooperatives, scientific organizations, and others) working with economic accountability and bearing full economically accountable responsibility to any administrative organ at union or republic level. The term and the very concept of "subordination" must give way to the concept of "management" providing for national economic projects to be managed both by local soviets and the republic and also by the center using only economic methods (taxes, credits, subsidies, and economic sanctions in the event of a violation of existing laws).

The association advocates developing commodity-money relations and creating a socialist market, and in this connection the association considers it necessary to alter the principles of price formation and taxation and to regularize attitudes to property.

All-state, essentially depersonalized property must be handed over to economically accountable economic units (enterprises, kolkhozes, local soviet ispolkoms, and so forth), with them all being granted identical rights.

Relations between the state and economic units must be governed by progressive income taxes, payment for resources, and legislation. With the introduction of a progressive tax the so-called "turnover tax," which today acts as the chief brake on the development of consumer goods production, must be abolished.

The association is opposed to extensive development of the republic's economy, including industry, and advocates the elimination of mechancial population growth.

The association believes that the principles of centralized planning must be changed.

Planning by central union or republic organs must be confined to drawing up union and republic programs funded from the budgets and placing state orders along competitive lines. Union and republic planning organs and also local soviet ispolkoms issuing a state order must work on a contract basis with the executors and bear full responsibility for selling the products or services produced under this order.

The association advocates the all-around development of new forms of management: joint-stock companies, direct ties, cooperatives, and others. These forms must be developed exclusively on a voluntary basis and ensure mutually advantageous cooperation.

The association deems it necessary to bring full and objective information on the state of the national economy to the notice of the public.

The association believes that to stabilize the economic situation and economic activity it is necessary to clearly delimit functions between executive and legislative power. The law, which is obeyed both by economic units and by executive power (ispolkoms, councils of ministers, ministries, and departments), must be made the basis. The law must not be amplified or altered by departmental acts.

The association points out that the threat of an ecological crisis has arisen as a result of underestimating nature conservation measures in the republic.

Ecological problems must be resolved through joint efforts in all areas, which, in industry, could be:

the amplification of inventories taken earlier of all production waste and discharges into the atmosphere and into water and their classification according to quantity, types, and possible methods of recovering, processing, utilizing, and neutralizing them;

the creation of a special production facility to collect, process, and utilize the basic kinds of waste and the production of certain industrial output and consumer goods based on it;

the revision of manufacturing processes, with replacement of obsolete ones by low-waste and waste-free processes;

the introduction of highly efficient methods of recovering and purging of pollutants used air and water;

the introduction of exhaust neutralizers for motor vehicles and motorcycles and the reduction of discharges of harmful substances into the atmosphere.

These measures must be realized by concentrating the means and material resources of the association members, as well as budget allocations by means of their redistribution within the republic.

The association supports the need to restore agriculture in the republic and considers it expedient to make capital investments by means of direct contracts between industrial enterprises and agricultural enterprises, to develop credit relations between them, and to produce agricultural implements of labor and equipment for collective and individual farms on a cooperative basis.

The association believes that a coordinating center should be set up under the association to develop foreign economic activity.

For the purpose of ensuring accelerated scientific and technical progress in the republic's economy the association considers it necessary to draw up sectoral and republic programs for training and retraining cadres, including instruction in the Lettish language.

Adopted unanimously at the constituent conference of enterprise leaders and labor collective council chairmen of Latvian SSR industrial enterprises 18 February 1989.

Interview With Lithuanian Party First Secretary

LD0903195789 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1300 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Interview with Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, by radio commentator Benas Rupeika—date and place not given; recorded]

[Text] [Rupeika] Naturally, it would be rather strange if our conversation started with some other topic rather than with the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee plenum, which took place recently. The plenum caused great reaction in Lithuania. Even journalists from the republican newspapers, knowing that I was going to see you, asked me to ask you if you are going to work in the future. Will there not emerge some forbidden areas as a result of some speeches made at the plenum? Is the zone of pluralism of opinions growing smaller as well as other questions of this nature? I believe you have already encountered them.

[Brazauskas] Yes, I had encountered them, and it is only natural that questions of this kind emerge. A question is asked: What is currently going on in the party? Has the party changed its strategy, has it changed its objectives and begun to utilize some other methods to achieve the objectives, i.e. its tactics? I would like to say that nothing of the kind is happening. Our strategies remain the same it has been laid out in our documents and we have spoken about this on more than one occasion on the radio and, therefore, I will not repeat myself. I only want to say that we want all the society to understand and render us support in the implementation of our strategic plan.

The main objective remains the same: sovereignty of the republic within the Soviet Union. Why within the Soviet Union? I have already explained on more than one occasion, well, I could even repeat it. First of all it is extremely deeply integrated in the sphere of our economy. It is what it is today, one can neither deny nor eliminate it. In general, the political structure, the political situation in the country and our relationship with the center—these are maintained in implementing this policy.

We have stated our point of view on more than one occasion and it seems that in the future there will be many occasions to state it again. However, we cannot understand that a part of our society, especially that part which sympathizes or is united with the Sajudis would already raise different objectives, other than those which were our common ones. Let us remember that the Sajudis announced that it, quote, had the objective to create and develop the restructuring and democratization of the socialist society on humane grounds, which had been started by the leadership of the CPSU unquote. Indeed this is very noble and we accepted and supported it. This should be like that. However, when now the national liberation is voiced, that Moscow is a colonial yoke, Soviet colonialism, Soviet imperialism is heard, well, you know, it became rather frightening to us. Such objectives, if these are indeed what they sound, where could they lead our society? Therefore, our main task and the task of the plenum that took place recently is to draw the limits, to draw the place up to which we, as the Lithuanian Communist Party and the leadership of the republic, go together. So we understand if there are common goals then we can cooperate. However, when the common goals disappear and our goals are different then cooperation becomes simply incomprehensible and impossible.

[Rupeika] I should say that the word "incomprehensible" here is not suitable any more. The plenum simply presented a political assessment of this watershed.

[Brazauskas] Yes, that was the main objective. You have formulated it very precisely: "political assessment of our watershed!" I believe that this watershed line should be clear and distinct.

Perhaps I should say that individual members of the Central Committee who spoke at the plenum presented their personal points of view on the current situation. Reading the papers you will see that, in many cases, we were accused of failing to try to identify the watershed earlier and find common points and objectives.

[Rupeika] Of course, political tact is not understood by everybody.

[Brazauskas] Of course not everybody understands it including a Central Committee member. This is his position and we must respect everybody's position. However, the party's general line has been set out both in my report and in the decision which we adopted and will make public tomorrow.

[Rupeika] Here I would like to recall a speech, one of the first clear speeches which you made at the constituent congress of the Lithuanian Restructuring Movement Sajudis. What you just said had its roots in this speech, did it not?

[Brazauskas] At that time, I also said that we should unite and seek to achieve common goals by moving forward consistently and with very carefully measured steps, and well considered steps at that. Looking back, I must say that I admire the relationship in Estonia. Recently I read the declaration adopted by the Estonian People's Front and the declaration adopted by our Seimas. These two differ significantly, I believe. I think that the content of those two declarations should be reviewed in a radio program. I personally would not try to do that.

[Rupeika] Well, this will be next Monday. Now I would like to repeat the words you said and perhaps in this way these words will be better taken notice of: Although the Lithuanian Communist Party has strategic aims, it is also obliged to have tactics, and the question of tactics is not a straight line drawn right to the final objective.

[Brazauskas] Yes, tactics mean looking for various means and using these to achieve the target. One of those means is this: We want to tell society that we are carrying on to accomplish this task; however, we are also looking for support.

I would like to stress this here publicly: We cannot agree with the statement which was implied in one of the questions asked by someone, that is whether the Lithuanian Communist Party has not turned its cart shafts toward Stalinism. I want to assure you that this is absolutely not the case. Our aims have not changed at all.

[Rupeika] Namely, in the Stalinist era such direct political lines used to be drawn, even here in Lithuania. We all know how much it cost because now we know about it through the press.

[Brazauskas] Yes, it cost a lot. We cannot ignore the possible consequences and victims. We hold on to such tactics so that we could retain what we have already achieved today, so that we could even enhance this. This tendency to keep forgetting all the time what we have already achieved and done and orientate oneself only toward new and quite often completely unachievable tasks is not acceptable. I would even say it does not comply with logic.

[Rupeika] For the same of analogy here, Antanas Snieckus' policy could be remembered. It was not a straight line, however, today, many want to see such a policy, which is simpler.

[Brazauskas] You see, what is a straight line? Using a straight line you can do the chopping and casualties along the road may be left and this may cost very dearly. So, tactics in maneuvering and decisions are dictated by the conditions and factors existing at the time.

[Rupeika] You mean actual, existing obstacles, which should be considered?

[Brazauskas] I mean actual, existing obstacles and proper assessment to the possible consequences. Our actions are also defined by these. It seems to me, and I am thoroughly convinced of that, that our actions in the current situation are taken while every step of ours is taken as though it had been discussed and measured first.

[Rupeika] I would like to ask you about the report you made at the plenum. It conveys, no doubt, not only your personal position and your personal postulates.

[Brazauskas] By no means, this would not be possible. The main ideas and the main theses of the report had been discussed by all members of the bureau and on more than one occasion.

[Rupeika] Were there differences in opinion?

[Brazauskas] Yes. There were differences in opinion. However, this was the opinion of the majority of the members. As the results of the discussion at the plenum showed, this line was supported in fact. However, the situation should not be made tragic. This line is not, I would say, illogical or from another source.

[Rupeika] The readers who will most probably read the summary of this interview, listen to some speakers at the plenum, read their theses and their categorical evaluations will probably cause them concern. Here, I as journalist tried to calculate and to compare political and even social status of those who spoke at the plenum and I have found out that those party leaders who came by way of recent democratic elections did not show their worth, these voices and their positions at the plenum were not heard.

[Brazauskas] Of course not everybody could be given the floor. Quite a number of people spoke, but not everybody could be given the floor. It is clear that it is not all that easy for both young secretaries and first secretaries of party city or rayon committees, to stand up and to categorically speak out for one's opinion. True, more experienced and older party workers spoke at this plenum.

However, concerning criticisms or remarks as most of [words indistinct] has been evaluated as a return to Stalinism, a return to unpermitable measures, and so on. Let us remember that party leaders have been criticized on many occasions and sometimes it has been accepted that this was normal to criticize a party leader, perhaps the word leader is not appropriate here, say, a party organizer, or a party worker. This is understandable, however, when somebody from the Sajudis leadership was publicly criticized, it was met by such a reaction, and this reaction is even incomprehensible. But there are people on both sides, both can make a mistake.

Jewish Society's First Congress Ends in Vilnius

LD0603211789 Moscow TASS in English 1650 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Vilnius March 6 TASS—The first congress of the Society of Jewish Culture in Lithuanian ended on Monday in the capital of this Soviet Baltic republic. It was noted at the congress that perestroyka has created favourable conditions for fuller national expression, for the development of the culture of various peoples and ethnic groups. Jewish public organizations were formed in Lithuania over the past two years. Courses for the studies of Yiddish and Hebrew started to function. The republic's government decided that the Jewish historic museum closed in 1949 be restored in Vilnius. An ancient building which housed the Jewish theatre before the Second World War has been provided for the museum, groups and classes in kindergarten and general educational schools with studies in Yiddish are to be formed starting from the next academic year. Lithuania's book chamber has a large stock of Jewish literature (50,000 volumes), the largest in Eastern Europe. A sector for the studies of Jewish literature has been formed at the book chamber.

Foreign guests—people prominent in Jewish culture in Israel, Poland, the USA spoke at the congress.

Emanuelis Zingeris, researcher of the Jewish cultural heritage in Lithuania was elected chairman of society.

Lithuanian Commission Chairman on War Crimes

LD1003134089 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 1 Feb 89 p 4

[Interview with Juozas Serys, first deputy chairman of the Lithuanian Council of Ministers, chairman of the Commission For Uncovering Uninvestigated War and Postwar Crimes, by TIESA Correspondent Danguole Repsiene; date and place not given]

[Text] **As was earlier announced in the press, a Commission For Uncovering Uninvestigated War and Postwar**

Crimes was established, last November, in conformance with a decision by the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party and the republic government. The commission is headed by Deputy Chairman of the Lithuanian Council of Ministers Juozas Serys. TIESA correspondent Danguole Repsiene interviews him.

[Question] First of all, please tell us what prompted the government to set up this commission.

[Answer] It is a sign of our society's renewal. Last summer, government and editorial offices began to receive many letters detailing crimes, unmentioned until now, that had taken place in the wake of the Red Army's retreat during the first days of war, as well as in the first postwar years. The newspaper, GIMTASIS KRASTAS, published some accounts about Rainiai; TIESA carried accounts of the murder of Panevezys physicians and the liquidation of Pravieniskiai prison inmates. In order to conduct a thorough investigation of the circumstances involving these, as well as other crimes, it was decided to establish a government commission. It consists of 16 individuals from administrative offices, cultural workers, medical personnel, and lawyers. Three meetings have already been held.

[Question] Our readers are interested in what has been accomplished so far in exposing these crimes.

[Answer] The republic Procuracy has instituted criminal proceedings to investigate the murders in Rainiai Forrest, Panevezys and Pravieniskiai. We have examined progress reports by Procuracy workers on the investigation of these crimes and we are doing everything possible to facilitate access for the lawyers to all archival documents, ensuring that they meet with total cooperation from everyone they approach on these matters. The commission also receives correspondence. I read every piece of correspondence first, and then channel it to the work groups.

[Question] Do you receive many letters?

[Answer] To date the commission has received about 400 letters, revealing more and more crimes. Hardly any area exists that has been spared from sending us painful news. Thus the land of Lithuania contains many open wounds.

[Question] The editorial office has also received 10 such letters. I have been charged with turning them over to the commission. Here are some examples. P. Jonaitis, of Pilviskiai, and J. Jonutis, of Telsiai, recall the Rainiai tragedy; A. Varnaragis of Kaunas writes about three priests who were murdered in the Budavone woods of Vilkaviskis Rayon during the first days of the war. In addition I have a handful of letters detailing bloody action carried out by people's defenders and soldiers on 23 December 1944 in Klepociai, Druskininkai, Tarucioniai, and other villages of Alytai Rayon. A. Rimantas and D. Garliauskiene would like to know who was responsible for the murders in Rokiskis Rayon, near Juodupe, in June of 1941. The letter states: "People must learn the truth concerning the terror involved in this incident."

[Answer] Residents of these areas have already informed the commission of these incidents. The investigation of these crimes has been turned over to procuracy workers in rayons where the crimes occurred.

We are very grateful for each additional letter. They assist us in determining the circumstances surrounding these incidents. Although 50 years have elapsed since these incidents occurred, we hope that there still remain some eyewitnesses, family members of those who perished, and some of the perpetrators of those crimes.

I also wish to inform you that the commission is holding all this information in safekeeping, since the authors of these letters do not wish their contents to be disclosed until such time as a trial, or some other form of explanation of these incidents, takes place. Should someone approach you, on behalf of the commission, requesting additional information, do not hesitate to ask them for identification—since all of the government commission members have been issued special ID's containing their photographs.

[Question] As a matter of fact, the letters that have been sent to TIESA do contain some additional information. One sent from Silale describes how three Puleikis brothers, the Zaramba brothers and other people, were, on 23 or 24 June, 1941, cruelly tortured to death by retreating Red Army troops in Usyne Village of Kvedarna district. The letter adds that "Mrs Stasytiene was shot for hanging out her laundered sheets—construed as a gesture of sympathy and surrender to the Germans." The author indicates the current addresses of close relatives of those who were thus sacrificed. Tekle Sedelskyte writes about the murder, on the night of 27 June, of postal workers Kostas Ratkevicius and Pijus Siaurusaitis, the cooperative's accountant, Leonardas Danilevicius, and Puzinas. She also suggests whom to contact to obtain information on the circumstances of these murders. Irena Ciuraite-Griskeviciene sadly recalls how, on 29 June, Red Army soldiers took her father away into the woods. A week later, several men discovered "her father's bayonet-punctured body; that same day, 13 men from our village were shot." All this took place in Mitkiskiai Village of Trakai Rayon. A. Mauruce recalls how in 1945, around Eastertime, a military detail arrived in Gudeliai and the surrounding villages of Marijampole District, and, roaming through the fields, shot any man they happened to meet; included were those who were working in the fields and woods. "There were about 20 coffins in Skriaudziai Church and about 10 in Pliuskiai and Azuolu Buda." Eyewitnesses to these killings are listed in the letter.

[Answer] I cannot comment on these facts until justice organs have had an opportunity to comment on this. One thing is already evident, however,--these are painful pages in the life of Lithuania. We will endeavor, to the best of our ability, to uncover all of these crimes. By the way, a special edition will be published recording the newly-uncovered murders of the population; J. Prapiestis, a lecturer at Vilnius University, has agreed to compile this information.

[Question] Do people dare to write openly about these crimes, or are many of these letters unsigned, perhaps?

[Answer] Most of them relate the story openly and sincerely. Many of these letters are obviously written by old, semi-literate people. They pour out their accumulated pain and talk about the death and suffering of their dear ones, without seeking revenge, since they understand how complicated those years they have lived through had been. Such letters are especially troubling for me.

[Question] A. Bieliunas, from the town of Viesintai in Anyksciai Rayon, describes in his letter how on a summer night in 1948 a band of men came out of the woods into what was then called Vasuokenai Village in Troskunai District, and killed 24 people on the Vasuokenai estate. He adds: "I was present at the funeral of these people. I know that a woman, who was shot that night, happens to be still living." It seems that although rampages from the woods by bandits have already been investigated, there remain some blank spots in this category also.

[Answer] Now that the republic government has agreed to pay compensation to those who have been rehabilitated for the properties which had been confiscated from them, people ask: Will they be compensated for the burned down houses, requisitioned animals, and other belongings that had been taken from them by armed bands hiding out in the woods?

[Answer] All this was an offspring of the Stalinist policy. We must analyse every crime objectively, since each human life is a most precious commodity.

We must clear all this up, in order not to have it recur in the future. It is our duty to honor the victims' memory in a fitting manner.

[Reporter] Thank you for the interview.

P.S. We plan to publish soon more information on what the republic Procuracy has accomplished thus far in investigations on Rainiai Forest, Panevezys, and Pravieniskiai prison.

* Lithuanian SSR Jan Presidium Session Reported

WA18000580 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 27 Jan 89 pp 1,3

[Communique of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR]

[Text] At its regular meeting, the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR discussed the issue of implementing the status of the Lithuanian state language and adopted the ukase "On the Use of the State Language of the Lithuanian SSR."

As is known, the draft ukase of the presidium of the supreme soviet "On the Use of the Lithuanian and Other Languages" was published in the republic press in November for a discussion by the public. The revised draft ukase, discussed before the meeting of the presidium by the relevant permanent commissions of the supreme soviet, was prepared taking into account the remarks and suggestions made in the course of the discussion. The essence of the ukase adopted by the presidium is to regulate the official use of the state Lithuanian language. The use of languages in private life is not regulated.

The council of ministers of the republic has been charged with preparing and carrying out the measures called for by the execution of the aforementioned ukase of the presidium.

Taking into account proposals by the population of the republic, labor collectives, social organizations and artists' unions, the presidium of the supreme soviet of the Lithuanian SSR proclaimed 16 February, the Day of Rebirth of the Lithuanian State, the national holiday. In conjunction with this, the presidium charged the council of ministers of the Lithuanian SSR with resolving the issues associated with regulating worktime.

Reports on preparations for the elections of people's deputies of the USSR were heard at the meeting of the presidium of the supreme soviet of the Lithuanian SSR. Local councils of people's deputies must create conditions for the exercise of rights envisaged by the Law on Elections of People's Deputies of the USSR by labor collectives, social organizations and voters. The state committee for radio and television of the Lithuanian SSR, editorial offices of newspapers and magazines were charged with expanding their reporting on the course of preparations for the elections and providing opportunities for candidate people's deputies of the USSR, their campaign commissioners, citizens, labor collectives, and social organizations to use the mass media for preelection campaigning. The need was stressed to strictly comply with the Law on Elections of People's Deputies of the USSR in the course of the election campaign.

The issue of operation of the soviets reorganized experimentally into a single entity for two different administrative and territorial units was discussed at the meeting. Their operations were approved, and the soviets of people's deputies were allowed to continue, with the consent of the presidium of the supreme soviet of the Lithuanian SSR and without abolishing corresponding administrative and territorial units, their reorganization: soviets of people's deputies of rayons and rayon seats—into rayon soviets of people's deputies; soviets of people's deputies in cities reporting to rayon seats and urban-type settlements and soviets of people's deputies of corresponding districts—into city (settlement) and district soviets of people's deputies.

Statutes on the state anthem and state flag of the Lithuanian SSR were adopted at the meeting of the presidium of the supreme soviet of the Lithuanian SSR.

With a view to further reinforcing the struggle with violations of the traffic safety and motor vehicle operation rules, the presidium of the supreme soviet of the Lithuanian SSR resolved that individuals who have committed a traffic crime while intoxicated may be subjected to punishment in the form of compensated confiscation of the motor vehicle which is private property. Compensated confiscation of a motor vehicle amounts to mandatory confiscation of the vehicle which is the private property of the person convicted, with subsequent sale along the general guidelines, i. e., through a second-hand goods store, and the repayment of the proceeds minus sales expenses to the former owner. Compensated confiscation of a motor vehicle will be used only in cases envisaged by the penal code of the republic as an additional penalty. It will be carried out by bailiffs of rayon (city) people's courts at the location where the motor vehicle is permanently registered.

A ukase of the presidium envisages criminal penalties for games of chance with money, objects or other valuables at stake, if they took place following the imposition of an administrative penalty for the same violation. Such deeds will be punishable by up to 3 years of imprisonment or up to 2 years of correctional work, or a fine between 500 and 1,000 rubles, with or without the confiscation of property.

With a view to ensuring strict compliance with provisions of the constitution of the Lithuanian SSR and the development of socialist democracy, as well as taking into account a proposal by the Supreme Court of the Lithuanian SSR, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR abolished article 199/1 of the penal code of the republic which envisaged penalties for spreading deliberately slanderous fabrications defaming the Soviet state and social system.

The code on administrative violations of the republic has been improved. The new version contains articles envisaging penalties for acquiring, keeping, manufacturing or using radio transmitters without a license, as well as for violating the rules for protecting the life of people in the bodies of water.

An intraagency commission was set up and an ad-hoc team was confirmed by a resolution of the presidium in order to prepare the draft criminal code of the Lithuanian SSR.

On 15 January 1989, during the elections of deputies to the supreme soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, they were not elected in Siauliai-Guberne election district No 107 and Vevis election district No 318 (Trakai Rayon). In view of this, the presidium of the supreme soviet set a second round of elections in this district for 26 February 1989, on Sunday.

Issues of awards and clemency were also discussed at the meeting.

Religious Services in Tallinn Mark 1944 Air Raid

LD1003102589 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Summary] Events in Tallinn 45 years ago today have so far been ignored. It was then that Soviet aircraft bombed the city, many people were killed, and many buildings were demolished. The day was marked today by religious services in several churches. At 1945 a meeting began at the Town Hall Square.

[Begin correspondent (Hain Saar) recording] "On 9 March 1944, at this hour, buildings were on fire, homes were burning; an attack by the Soviet airforce had begun. Now, years later, historians may also publicly declare that there could not have been any military justification for this (?flight) of destruction." [end recording]

Estonian Interethnic Relations Commission Meets

PM0903142789 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIA in Russian 22 Feb 89 p 3

[ETA-attributed report by E. Markvart: "In the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Interethnic Relations Commission"]

[Text] The second session of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Interethnic Relations Commission, formed at the end of last year, has been held.

In view of the fact that this commission's length of tenure is considerably shorter than for other commissions, its members embarked with particularly great energy and enthusiasm on working through problems requiring a solution. The commission selected three main areas of activity. First, it was considered necessary to work out the principles of cultural autonomy in the Estonian SSR, and submit proposals for their implementation. Second, the main provisions of citizenship in the Estonian SSR have to be determined, and a corresponding draft law elaborated. Third, it has been decided to examine the national aspects of the restructuring of public eduication. A special working group is concerned with each problem.

At the session the leaders of these working groups—deputies S. Tarakanov, T. Laak, and Ya. Vares—informed the commission how and within what time frame they intended to complete their tasks. The greatest success has been achieved by the working group on citizenship problems, which with the help of teachers from the Tallinn State University Faculty of Law has already put down on paper the first chapters of a draft Estonian SSR Law on Citizenship. They include conceptual questions whose solution determines the details.

There was an animated exchange of views at the commission session on how to determine the circle of people who will be considered citizens of the Estonian SSR at the moment the law comes into force, and also under what conditions citizenship will be granted thereafter.

The next session of the commission, in March, could be discussing the entire draft law—that was the profound conviction of working group leader T. Laak.

Estonian Church Receives State, Foreign Aid

LD1003131789 Helsinki International Service in English 0930 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Excerpts] The heads of the Lutheran Churches of Finland and Estonia have signed an agreement designed to increase cooperation and friendship between the two religious communities. The head of the Lutheran Church in Estonia, Archbishop Kuno Pajula, and Finland's Archbishop John Vikstroem signed the agreement on Thursday at the end of Archbishop Pajula's week-long official visit to Finland. He told reporters on Thursday that ecclesiastical life in Estonia had recently achieved a new position, that the state is now providing money for the repair of churches. [passage omitted]

The state authorities in Estonia last year provided 400,000 roubles for church repair work. This, said the Archbishop, was a new phenomenon. Until now the parishes have had to finance such projects from their own funds. [passage ommitted]

Estonian Party Official Titma Interviewed

PM0903114989 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIA in Russian 22 Feb 89 p 2

[E. Kekelidze interview with Doctor of Philosophy Mikk Titma, secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee: "'We Are Returning From a Topsy-Turvy World to the Natural Order of Things'"; date, place of interview not given]

[Text] [Kekelidze] You won't object if we start our conversation with the future? You are a sociologist, and for you making predictions, "seeing into the future," if I can put it that way, is a unique working instrument for understanding processes that occur. What is your prediction for the immediate future? What turns of event do we need to be prepared for?

[Titma] In broad terms the situation for this year can be predicted with certainty for maybe two areas.

[Kekelidze] Which ones precisely?

[Titma] First, there is the possibility of the emergence of politically highly uncontrollable situations. In chronological order that kind of situation could develop at two points: during the period of discussion of the citizenship law and on the anniversary of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact in August. It is obvious that this will represent the peak in terms of political passions. My assumption here is that, given the conditions in our republic, extremist groups will be successfully isolated; the center will prove stronger than they are. Among our neighbors—in Latvia and Lithuania—events will develop differently, of course, but I am convinced that politics there will "move out into the streets" earlier than in our republic. There are various reasons for this, including the potential for political maneuvering. In Lithuania, I hear, Poles and Russians staged a protest demonstration recently; this was not the best step, I believe, since Lithuanian national self-awareness has deep historical roots both in a great past and statehood of their own, and a demonstration of strength against strength will hardly lead to anything good. Choice of policy should not be guided by passions.

With respect to Estonia I am an optimist; I believe that sensible forces are still active here and dialogue is still being conducted in a calm atmosphere. Difficult though it may be, everyone can see the danger of bringing politics "out into the streets."

The second equally obviously predictable area is that social movements will concentrate all their efforts on the elections to the republic supreme soviet. This is natural since this political moment will determine our life for the next 5 years, and a fierce struggle must be expected.

Looking at the situation as a whole, the internal aspect of the republic's life will be determined by economic reform. If the reform proceeds on the basis of the republic's economic accountability I am confident that we will develop rapidly and fruitfully and people will get involved in work and the actual remodeling of society, which will definitely lead to a multiplicity of interests and the emergence of a corresponding social structure reflecting these interests, where it will always be possible to find a balance of forces and compromises—that is, to make a developed European policy.

If radical economic reform does not happen the situation will become extremely complex and everything will be determined by purely political factors. That kind of situation is unstable and edgy.

[Kekelidze] That is the "overview." But what if you look at the expected peaks of tension in greater detail, literally day by day?

[Titma] Then we have to add a few more dates—the anniversary of the bourgeois republic on 24 February, the anniversary of the expulsion of the Estonians 40 years ago, on 25 March.... Plus, as we have already said, the periods when the citizenship law is discussed and the elections are held, and the anniversary of the pact.

[Kekelidze] I think that this prediction of yours will be confirmed with a high degree of accuracy. Could I ask you to dwell in a little more detail on the most important events—the elections to the supreme organs of power of the country and the republic?

[Titma] I think that the current elections will bring disappointment. Unfortunately we have been unable to agree with the social movements and the team we will be sending to Moscow will be weak—this is already clear even now.

[Kekelidze] Are there many movements with which we have been unable to agree?

[Titma] There are many, first and foremost the People's Front. Because of this stupid things are now being done. For example, there are okrugs where only one candidate has been nominated, and naturally you can't expect any argument there. At the same time the republic's leadership—Vayno Vyalyas and Indrek Toome—are currently having to expend a great deal of time and effort on the election campaign instead of resolving the republic's problems in the country's top echelons of power.

To tolerate this kind of situation you need to have an illusion that we have an abundance of available forces.

[Kekelidze] Do you believe that it was People's Front activity that contributed to the emergence of this situation in terms of the elections?

[Titma] It is more correct to say that individuals in the People's Front have overestimated the present political moment. It is absurd to say that the people have themselves put forward all the names of the candidates—the candidates were nominated by various social movements and the people have either accepted them or not. It is clear right now that given a sensible compromise we could get a stronger team for Moscow.

Let me note one other factor: To claim to be demonstrating the boundless potential of democracy when you have a comparatively limited reserve of forces is also window-dressing but in a different area—the area of democracy. To offer the population eight candidates in a single okrug and compel them to conduct a pre-election struggle is very silly: The voters aren't ready for this and neither are the candidates, who are basically indistinguishable in terms of their platforms and thus will be separated on the basis of personality traits, thus intensifying the populism factor, which is already pretty strong in our conditions.

You also come across the puerile idea that the people who have been really involved in state affairs must now go and "untainted" people be brought in off the street. This is naive. State administration requires professionals and professionalism. I'm not going to talk about those who have compromised themselves. But it must not be forgotten that one way or another the people who have been promoted into administration are precisely the ones who have proved capable of administrative activity, who have proved themselves. And it is hardly likely that more highly professional people are going to appear "off the street."

[Kekelidze] Everyone who feels like it is now engaged in categorizing people as "untainted" or "tainted."

[Titma] This is political unscrupulousness. Naturally it should not be forgotten that a certain section of undoubtedly capable people have been out of things for various reasons and are now coming into politics: That is normal. But it is a completely different matter when you are talking about people who have proved not to have what it takes, to be incapable, but are now attempting to ride the new wave to a new niche by accusing everyone of sticking with stagnation.... This is a problem.

[Kekelidze] The closest "flashpoint" of those you mentioned is the anniversary of the bourgeois republic. There seems to be a need to "straighten things out" here. The view of history has changed pretty radically, this topic has finally acquired "citizenship rights," Estonian Independence Day has been instituted by a special decree, and there is a particular need to determine the point of departure for making assessments.

[Titma] I'd like to start way back. We remember the preparations for the 1,000th anniversary of the Christianization of Russia. Did many people fear that this event of fundamental significance for the fate of Russia and Russian culture could take place under the flag of atheistic struggle? The turnaround came pretty late, in fact—close to the celebratory date. A turnaround is also occurring in other respects—the renaming of cities, for example. Izhevsk and Mariupol have got their ancient names back—as has Kuressaar in our republic. How can Tver continue to be the city of Kalinin and Nizhniy Novgorod continue to be Gorkiy? They are immeasurable magnitudes in cultural and historical terms! Historical events and historical figures cannot be assessed on a present-day scale.

The same approach should be taken to historical events with which Estonians identify. A small people oppressed by a foreign yoke for 700 years has survived as a people, as a nation—this fact is astonishing in itself. Moreover they acquired their own statehood—a supreme event in any people's history. It is politically incompetent to take a purely political stance on this, taking the view that this is "not our" type of state. It has to be remembered that for Estonian history this is a fundamental event. And this is precisely the party Central Committee's viewpoint. The same applies to the national anthem and flag—historically Estonians identified with these symbols long before they were chosen as state symbols. After the war a Stalinist, I would even say Proletarian Culture, ideology reigned: Down with everything from the past, give us everything new; that way we will establish a new life. And this was precisely the way things were done, right down to the renaming of streets. In reality this signified the annihilation of the national memory and the nation's cultural foundations and roots. This barbaric approach cost dearly all our country's peoples, not only the Estonians. And the problem of national rebirth is today a universal problem.

We must feel that we are free nations. For the whole of civilization and the absorption of panhuman values come to us in a package through national culture; it is through his national culture that a person looks at the world—it comes first. Our ideological stance within these coordinates comes second. But we turned these relationships upside down: We thought that ideological stance came first and the whole of world civilization, panhuman values, and nations came second.... We created a topsy-turvy world, and only now is the natural order of things returning.

It is in this context that we are preparing for the anniversary of the bourgeois state and examining both the flag and the anthem.

[Kekelidze] Incidentally, the national flag will presumably become the republic's state flag, as the Lithuanians have already done?

[Titma] This depends on the Supreme Soviet, but in principle there is nothing here that is politically extreme. The attitude to the coat of arms is different: We don't have lions roaming our republic; they are a pure symbol of strength and there is no national identification here. A sensible approach to everything is needed.

It must be understood and remembered that, for example, whereas to the Russians Peter I, no matter how cruel he may have been, is a great statesman who opened a window to Europe, to us he is a tyrant and enslaver who reduced the total number of Estonians to almost 100,000 and sold them into slavery in Turkey. In different cultural contexts the same historical personality and the same event are not equal. To the Mongols Genghis Khan was a great khan and founder of a powerful state; without this man their history does not exist. But world civilization makes a different assessment of him: To Europe and Russia Genghis Khan is the embodiment of strife and slavery. You have to look at the context.

[Kekelidze] I absolutely agree. And so it is evidently silly not to take account of the dual context governing interpretation of the upcoming anniversary.

[Titma] I realize that for Russian inhabitants of Estonia there is a problem here. Those with a Russian cultural context who understand the Estonians well also understand what a nation's past and history are, what national roots are. They understand this from the history of Pskov, of Novgorod, of wherever they originate from. But there is a section of such people whose roots have been completely destroyed by the era of Stalinism and stagnation. They look at the world and life solely on the basis of the political regime and stereotypes created under Stalin. In this world they have no roots and no past—what they have instead is the ideological arguments and attitudes of the leadership [nachalstvo]. To them, of course, the Estonian republic symbolizes everything negative that that political regime used to call "Western."

[Kekelidze] That's right. But there is also another nuance to this attitude— is a given event purely historical or does it have topical overtones? Most likely this is the decisive factor, not just historical roots.

[Titma] To be frank, there are obviously very few Russians who believe that Estonia will secede from the union and that the anniversary of the republic could serve as the pretext. Nevertheless you will agree that most of those with a negative attitude look at things in a different context—the great power context, within the parameters of prerestructuring ideology—whereby the state must be unified and indivisible and nations are merely a detail which gets in the way of life. From this viewpoint the upsurge in Estonian national self-awareness is interpreted as undermining the foundations. Whereas previously a person coming to Estonia knew that he was at home, just as much as if he were in Novgorod, Perm, Belorussia, and so forth, now the picture has changed. Now he has to think that we have living here an indigenous nation for whom this is their only place on earth.

[Kekelidze] You will agree that what Estonians think is much more important than what Russians think.

We are currently looking at the picture in two dimensions—the indigenous nation and the incomers. But within this system of coordinates there is no room for the inhabitants of the Lake Chudskoye area, or the large stratum of local Russians or Russian-speakers, or those who, while not born on Estonian soil, have nevertheless lived here all their lives, working for its good. You involuntarily think that these categories of people are being deprived of their homeland, their past, and their future, they are simply "excluded" from any context.

[Titma] I think you're right here—in the sense that putting the question in those terms is pretty naive, as is the demand made by some individuals for citizenship to be granted only to people who were living here before 1940 and their descendants. This is all socially unrealistic.

There is clearly no problem with people who have put down roots here and become part of the local human community and culture.

And the party Central Committee is doing work precisely in the direction of identifying that section of the Russian population that has "put down roots" and really become "eestimaalased"—part of Estonia. There can be no two ways about this.

[Kekelidze] So why do you describe the period of discussion of the citizenship law as one of the expected "peaks of tension"? We should hardly have to expect any unrest if the law reflects the viewpoint shared by, among others, such an eminent lawyer as Professor I. Gryazin—that everyone who was born in Estonia and has permanent residence rights or permanent employment here would automatically receive citizenship. If this is the case there's hardly any likelihood of any unrest. Or have different parameters been chosen?

[Titma] There will probably also be a "census of length of permanent residence"—probably 3-5 years or something of that order. I believe that this is a sensible political compromise. People currently concerned with migration questions are citing a figure of 7 million—that is the number of people who have come into Estonia since the war. If we exclude servicemen who were brought here because of being stationed here, then from even the most modest figures we get at least 4 million people. Compare this with the figure for the population of Estonia and it becomes clear that this number cannot all receive citizenship at once. The institution of citizenship imposes certain obligations on the republic, but what obligations does Estonia have to such people?

[Kekelidze] But it is dual citizenship—of the country and the republic—that is assumed, isn't it?

[Titma] Yes, of course.

[Kekelidze] Will there be advance publication of a draft of the citizenship law?

[Titma] Of course, and we will take account of the mistakes made with the language law: It will not be an experts' technical version, what will be published as soon as it is ready is a political version which has been balanced and worked through by the commission currently being formed by the republic supreme soviet presidium. This will be followed by widespread discussion.

[Kekelidze] It is obvious that active preparations for the CPSU Central Committee plenum on interethnic relations are also in progress at the moment. Will there be advance publication of the materials and documents that our delegation will take with it to Moscow?

[Titma] The documents will be published; a great deal of work has been done, work which I consider theoretically very well thought through.

[Kekelidze] You are one of the four authors who presented the IME [Estonian self-management] idea to the people. How is the process of its further establishment going—as expected or otherwise?

[Titma] I can say the following: From my viewpoint this was more a political act. I was approached, I read the article and reworded the occasional thing, but in reality other authors did much more work and more arduous work than I did. To this day I am comparatively little involved with IME; I don't have enough time to devote to it and don't wish to be involved with anything merely at the level of slogans. In political terms I am satisfied with the progress of IME. In Estonia this platform has created a politically healthy foundation for restructuring. Without it there would have been ethnic problems and there could have been conflict. We managed to win time; if the opposite had been the case possible deviations from the normal process would have been more likely. IME made a big contribution to the spiritual emancipation of our republic.

[Kekelidze] Today consolidation is probably the most popular word in any speech about today's problem areas. I would like clarification of your viewpoint, of the Central Committee's viewpoint on the practical part of this essential action: How should this process proceed in practice?

[Titma] When it was first raised this slogan was interpreted somewhat naively: It was assumed that comparatively diverse social movements and forces would unite and find a common basis. But this is unrealistic. What do I mean by consolidation? First, in Estonia the people who can consolidate are those who see the republic as a relatively autonomous part of the country. Anyone who does not see or recognize this is an outsider. An outsider pure and simple. These people have roots someplace else, probably in the area where they originated, and in principle it would be more sensible, of course, for them to go back to where their ancestors lived and get on with politics and restructuring there. That is, the only people who can consolidate are those who acknowledge the basic thing—the sovereignty of Estonia, their home. In a home, as in a family, it is inevitable that there are going to be arguments and different interests. And here we come to the foundation of European culture: People who live together must have patience and tolerance despite possibly having opposing interests. It has to be realized that we constitute a single entity.

Let me cite two examples. The Japanese are usually described as exceptionally industrious and determined people who appreciate the beauty of their daily life and so forth. But one thing is forgotten: Since the last century the Japanese have placed the national priority above everything else. Japan entered the international arena as a team, Japanese firms have never competed with each other but have skillfully divided up the market. No national elite was ever as historically unified as the Japanese after the Meiji revolution.

In this sense consolidation also means that when we march for Estonia, we march together. Many of our movements learned a lesson in Finland. We met with Finnish politicians ranging "from red to black"—the image shouldn't be taken literally, it's just that a pretty broad political spectrum was represented. In their talks with us none of them was representing only his own grouping, his own interests—they were all representing Finland. But our home-grown politicians, who visited a foreign country by invitation, tell the whole world that one set of people are such and such, another set are so and so, and so forth.

[Kekelidze] Yes, everyone drew attention to the report on your news conference after the visit, particularly the place where you mentioned the Finns' disapproving attitude toward any attempts in our republic to counterpose Estonia to the rest of the Soviet Union.

[Titma] In this sense consolidation is a realization that we all live together and will do so for all our lives. The earth is a small planet. Whether you love or hate your neighbors on the planet, tolerance is essential.

The third factor in consolidation is that it is necessary to find common interests and build policy on that basis. And there have always been, are, and will be individual interests—that's normal.

That to me is the real content of the term "consolidation."

[Kekelidze] What specific problem is the Central Committee currently wrestling with?

[Titma] The republic party organization platform, program provisions. Without them we as a party along with social movements will be totally unable to rally people, to rally Communists so they feel: This is our party, and we are advancing together.

To a large extent the all-union program remains abstract; there is also a need for a specifically republic program. We have started work in this direction and hope to elaborate such a program.

The second question relates to elected party bodies and Communists' responsibility. A complete absence of party discipline is sometimes encountered, particularly now, during the election period. The party as a political force pursues not some personal objectives but party objectives. In this sense many people lack internal party responsibility and an understanding of Communists' duty. Calls for discipline are not enough here.

What do you do if Communists account for one-fourth of the People's Front Board and 70 percent of the Intermovement Coordinating Council? How do you call them to discipline?

The situation is difficult, but a traditional struggle for the purity of party ranks is doomed to fail.

It is necessary to operate through a positive program, and this is why I regard the elaboration of a republic party organization program as a priority task.

Restructuring is affecting the party apparatus, the state apparatus... . Effective administrative structures are essential.

[Kekelidze] Is the political map of the republic already fully defined, in your view? Have all the forces entered the arena?

[Titma] We still don't have a good peasants' movement. It is still in the formative stage. All the others are possibly out there already.

[Kekelidze] You came into party work at a very acute moment and went straight into such a responsible post....

[Titma] Political work per se has always been dear to me, so there was no problem there. But intraparty work, the interplay between various bodies, in short the whole "works"—I still haven't mastered this to the requisite extent. It takes time. The apparatus and its functions must not be dismissed out of hand. They have to be there. What the apparatus should be doing is another matter. Currently we are radically reorienting the work of the Ideology Department. We proceed from the principle that all departments and also raykoms and gorkoms must themselves make political decisions and have responsibility. As an Estonian Communist Party Central Committee department we have our own specific niche, we work in a strictly defined area, and we don't tell them what to do and breathe down their necks in what used to be the accepted manner. Some raykoms are making active use of their new rights, but some are still waiting for something.

[Kekelidze] It's like being able to learn how to walk again.

[Titma] The novelty of the situation has evidently yet to hit people. But people need to get used to independence.

[Kekelidze] In this connection how is it envisaged work with the Russian population will be organized?

[Titma] I'm going to say something strange here. The party apparatus, which in the past consisted mostly of Russians (at least in Tallinn), was not concerned with Russians' problems. That is, the level at which Russian people in the republic have organized themselves is very low—labor collectives are virtually the only form. In this sense both cultural and social movements require organizational work. And we in both the Ideology Department and the Organizational Department have now created a special group concerned with precisely these questions. At least we have made a start.

[Kekelidze] But you will agree that to make contact a speaker needs as a minimum to know what his audience is concerned about and to deploy the arguments that will work with that precise audience.

[Titma] That's right: A Russian audience needs to be worked by people from a Russian environment who have been appointed or elected to work in the apparatus. And we will focus on this. Only a person who is himself in this environment can have a real sense of the problems and the right outlook. It's tricky for us in such situations. Whereas, for example, I have no problems at all in the professional environment in Moscow, in Leningrad I encounter difficulties—I am treated as an Estonian there—and the difficulties in our republic are even greater. As a politician I am now beginning to move into what is for me a new environment which as yet I don't know or have a feel for; but I will move very cautiously, broadening my familiarization little by little rather than charging in.

[Kekelidze] One personal question: In some audiences people have asked us, citing you, whether it is true that soon Russian newspapers will only be available in translation....

[Titma] That's rubbish.

[Kekelidze] And, in this connection, can we expect a practical solution to the question of starting a supplement to our newspaper—a full weekly in Russian? A political decision is in existence—there is a reference to it in the documents of the 13th Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum. But the question has been in abeyance for years.

[Titma] This is a priority task.

[Kekelidze] And a last question: How do you foresee your work being in the future?

[Titma] Difficult. To put it figuratively, it was a surprise for me to get this post. I'm an academic and had never thought about a party career. And in reality I'm not going to break with science. Time will tell how much the party organization needs me as a Communist in this post.... As yet I'm only getting into the swim—it's difficult to make predictions.

Estonia's Valjas on Political Situation

LD0903140989 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Excerpts] Good evening. Discussions continued today about the political situation in Estonia. Today Vaino Valjas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, reviewed the situation for both radio and television. This is Vaino Valjas speaking.

[Begin Valjas recording] Esteemed television viewers and radio listeners, events of the last few days have seriously raised the question of the feeling of security in us all. For the people this is one of the most essential yardsticks in their relation to political life. The people wish to work in peace, but they must also have a secure feeling that the chosen politicians desire, and are capable of standing for, the interests of the people. Celebrated for the first time this year, Estonian Independence Day expressed the historical victory of justice, and increased a feeling of security in our common future and with respect to our hopes. It is hardly likely that this event—hoisting the national flag on the tower of Pikk Hermann—left any of us indifferent. But alas, it also did not leave indifferent those people for whom this feeling of security and its growth seem to be causing concern, who see danger in this for their political pretensions, and who do not wish to share their feelings with the people. [passage omitted] On the other hand, it is quite clear that the Intermovement, as well as some other forces, attempt to do everything to destabilize the present social situation in the republic and to create an atmosphere of nervousness. They view the hoisting of the national flag on the tower of Pikk Hermann as an attempt to divert Estonia from the path of socialism, forgetting at the same time the history full of contradictions and the need to affirm, from the point of view of historical memory, the essential landmarks in the formation of Soviet Estonia. While the action of the ERSP [Estonian National Independence Party] on town hall square on 24 February did not acquire any considerable influence, the activity of the Intermovement, particularly within the last few days, with meetings having taken place in some work collectives and in the Intermovement Congress, have had a fairly extensive range of resonance. This demonstrated once again that many people who identify themselves with the Intermovement are those with whom it is impossible to develop constructive cooperation.

One deals with Nina-Andreyeva-ite principles here, and even with anti-restructuring forces. Demands for republican leadership responsibility, and for removing most of the Central Committee Bureau members, speak for themselves. Here one cannot have an undecided opinion. We do not agree with these principles and we condemn them. Although passions ran high at the Intermovement Congress, we must not draw hasty conclusions from this at the moment. That also includes general conclusions [one may draw] of the people, without any exceptions, who take part in this movement. Anti-restructuring forces have started a counterattack in quite a number of places, but we must not allow restructuring to be compromised, regardless of how patriotic—in inverted commas—the slogans are under which this takes place. Inner dignity must be retained, as well as a balanced nature.

Confrontation of any kind, extremist actions, and unstability will only benefit the opponents of restructuring. This is indeed what they are striving for; dramatic events in our country have already numbered several. Similar phenomena must not occur in our republic, because in that way everybody will lose.

We must also endeavor to understand the serious anxiety which has started to spread among the Russian-speaking population. This must also be taken into account. To become seriously aware of these problems, a conference came together yesterday, during which the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau listened to the positions of both the United Council of Work Collectives and the Union of Work Collectives in respect of the situation that has evolved. Discussion was lengthy, principled, and exacting in the party sense.

It is apparently also necessary to practice such discussions in the future in endeavoring to gain clarification among different and contradictory positions; to work out a common action program in the interests of us all; and to do this from firm and principled positions. If the mass meeting planned for 14 March goes ahead, we address all the people of Tallinn, and appeal to the conscience of all the citizens of our republic, that they do not at that time allow themselves undignified behavior, even if they are provoked. This, too, is in the common interest of us all. One must understand that a certain section of the Russian-speaking population sense that our law on language and on the radical reorganization of the republic's economic life interferes with their natural feeling of security. There is nothing to this; restructuring interferes with us all. Indeed one is dealing with a revolutionary process of renewing society. But against this background, it is precisely those movements which I previously talked about which are projected particularly clearly and in a contradictory light. [as heard]

It does not matter what kind of purely human plans are involved here, but they should realize in the political sense that while trying to deny that Estonia belongs within the composition of the Soviet Union, and trying to ignore the interests of the Russian-speaking population of Estonia, they objectively deprive that section of any feeling of security, not only with respect to the future, but also in the present. We must have enough popular wisdom: What kind of Estonia you wish to see, that is how you must behave yourself.

Second, it is also quite natural that the appeals which sounded at the Intermovement Congress and at the meetings which have taken place cannot leave the positions of the indigenous population—representatives of the indigenous population, us, the people of Estonia—in peace. This disturbs our peaceful work; this causes serious anxiety.

Thus we are dealing with two principled extremes which amplify each other, and in whose activity it is clearly not the people's initiative and interests that are visible, but an incitment to passion from their political interests. [as heard] This is incorrect and unacceptable to our restructuring policy. The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee categorically comdemns these positions, and I believe this is supported by our people. These political extremes are of the same opinion with respect to one position: They both wish to (?ease) restructuring in Estonia. Only in this way can their activity be objectively judged. This is a hard thing to say, but one must look the truth in the eye. Do our people need this? Let us think of what the self-same restructuring has already provided for us within a relatively short period of time. We can assert at the moment that democratization of public life and openness are making big strides here. Without going into detail, we can boldly say that everyone may speak without fear about things as he understands them and considers them to be right. [passage omitted]

I also have in mind here the resolutions of Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet sessions. We will not go back on them, but they need affirmation at the all-union level. To do something more swiftly and more radically in this sphere would obviously lead to a destablization of the situation. On the other hand we have been reproached for haste and for having acted only in the interests of Estonians. It must be said with respect to the relationships of the indigenous population, and namely with the restoration of our historical justice, that the representatives of other nationalities who live here are in no way endangered. The fact that the indigenous population must be the master on its ancient territory, within a soivereign state, is one of the fundamental truths of the Leninist nationality policy, and this must be respected. At the same time it must be (?clear) that the Estonian Communist Party is just that, and must first and foremost represent the interests of Estonia. But this does not mean that there would be privileges for representatives of whatever nationality within the ranks of the Communist Party of Estonia. Within the party, everyone is both a person of Estonia and a Communist, and there must be no contrast on the basis of nationality here. We all feel and must feel a common responsibility to Estonia. The Intermovement, and the Communists participating in it, have brought an accusation as if [words indistinct] initiatives are of benefit only to Estonians. Meant here are the resolutions of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, the IME [self-managing Estonia] concept, restrictions on sending parcels by post, and others. This is, of course a very tendentious understanding, and the Communist Party of Estonia and the Estonian Government have explained this, and they will continue along the same lines in the future, in the interests of all the people living in Estonia and in the interests of the republic as a whole. For this reason we are indeed linked to the people and have been put in position by them. Our path is to advance restructuring, and we will not allow the extreme forces to divert us from this path. [passage omitted; Valjas says that on 14 and 15 March he and others will be in Moscow at the plenum on agriculture, with the aim that the food situation would improve, and hints that after the elections there will be a Estonian Commuist Party Central Committee plenum on agriculture and the current political situation] These are but the most essential forthcoming landmarks, which should demonstrate that relying upon your trust and support we will endeavor to advance life considerably. We can do this only relying upon the support and trust of the people. Let us then be worthy of it. [end recording]

Armenia's Arutyunyan Receives NKAO Official

NC0203203789 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0525 GMT 2 Mar 89

[From the Republican press review]

[Text] Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, received Babayan, a member of the Special Administration Committee of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], who is in Yerevan.

During the meeting they discussed implementating the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers concerning the measures to expedite the 1988-1990 socioeconomic development of the

NKAO in the Azerbaijan Republic and the problems connected with Armenian ministries, supervisory boards, and work collectives' participation in this.

Babayan also had working meetings at the republic's Council of Ministers, at the Yerevan Gorkom, and at the Council of Minister's Directorate General for Protecting Historical and Cultural Monuments.

NKAO Special Administrative Official Interview

LD1003110889 Yerevan GRAKAN TERT in Armenian 24 Feb 89 pp 1,2

[Interview with V. Sidorov, member of the Special Administrative Committee for Nagorno-Karabakh, by Tatul Safaryan; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Sidorov] This is the first time the form of special administration is being implemented in our country. [passage omitted] The attitude toward the introduction of the special administrative system is, all in all, as follows in the oblast: The decision was received with understanding and most people find that we had no choice. But to say that everybody without exception shares this view, or that the committee has commanded total trust from the word go, would be wrong. However, the people were badly disappointed with the authorities both of the republic and of Nagrono-Karabakh; and the resultant distrust and suspicion is partly maintained toward the committee itself. And we are aware of instances when they put it to the test whether we, too, are playing underhand games. Our attitude is that such is life, that one has to accept it as it comes, and that time will show that we are not playing tricks but are engaged in truly honest work. [passage omitted]

[Question] One of the priority tasks of the committee is, we believe, the resoration of the previously good-neighborly relations between Armenians and Azeris. [passage omitted]

[Sidorov] [passage omitted] Truly, this is the most difficult problem in NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast], and we have made very little progress in this matter: mutual prejudice, suspicion, irritation, and boycotting the opposite ethnic group continue. [passagee omitted]

[Question] How do you, as member of the Special Administrative Committee, appraise the following lines of the article by Osman Mirzoyev in the 20 January 1989 issue of 'VYSHKA,' organ of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee: "...Yes, however sad it may be to confess, the attitudes of the crooks of the 'shadow economy' and the current leader of the party organization of the oblast—Pogosyan—achieved an unimaginable harmony. The militant nationalists thus found huge backing in both a material and ideological-organization sense."?

[Sidorov] [passage omitted] At our request, the article was examined at the Secretariat of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and was given a principled appraisal. [passage omitted] It is possible to have a different view of the activities of H.A. Pogosyan. I personally believe that he, as the first secretary of the obkom Central Committee, undoubtedly bears responsibility for the way things developed in the oblast, in the same way as any leader in any other oblast or republic would. However, to stick labels such as "Dashnak" [party in power in Armenia before sovietization] or "petty bourgeois nationalist" on him, or direct various insults at him, or put him in the same class as crooks, is not only morally inadmissible but simply amounts to a failure to understand the essence of the events that have taken place in NKAO, and thus to make the existing situation worse. [passage omitted]

And what happens often in our life is this. One goes to one collective or another, talks to people, and lo and behold, they begin to say "they are all murderers, it is not possible to live with them." And, for goodness sake, they not only talk like that but will not allow the others to come to work or go to school. Can this be tolerated? The most regrettable thing is that it is sometimes the intellectuals who instigate the people.

I think that once we begin to say that our people are the chosen people of God, the noblest of all, and that we have traditions much older that other nations, then we are sowing the seeds of nationalism. It is worth recalling the biblical saying: "He who uses evil to his own ends becomes the victim of evil himself." [passage omitted]

To reflect on the ideological sphere, of which I am in charge, I must note the great danger of the distortion of concepts and umbridled sentiments. There is an effort everywhere to find an external enemy. [passage omitted] It is necessary in the first place to demand an explanation from those who have kept silent and inactive in trade organizations. Instead, they are trying to cover up their incompetence by Baku's "crookedness." It is necessary to solve this problem as well. And that is rather a complicated one as there are many reasons for complaining against that republic. Here I have met with leaders of practically every creative union and public assoociation. They all prove on the basis of well-founded facts that all their activities were up against a wall of indifference. We are now full of hope that the creative unions of Armenia will somehow find ways of putting our departments on their feet. We are developing new ways of establishing ties. Many creative unions will be authorized to affiliate with suitable corresponding unions in Moscow.

[Question] Are there plans for the publishing house? [passage omitted]

[Sidorov] We consider one of the methods for solving this problem to be the creation of a territorial editorial and production association. In response to our request, the USSR State Publishing Committee has already issued orders to this effect. The association embraces the editorial boards of the oblast and rayon papers, the monthly, the publishing house, book sales establishments, and so forth. Practical work has begun in this field. The same will happen in other fields. It is the turn, for instance, of the question of restructuring movie services and supplies associations and the network of cultural and educational establishments. The oblast must be fully independent, self-governing, and the master of its own fate.

[Question] Will Karabakh have a rail link with Armenia?

[Sidorov] One cannot rule out the possibility but it is a long-term matter. The priority task is to rebuild the Stepanakert-Lachin-Goris route. The Armenian Council of Ministers has undertaken this obligation and we are hopeful that it will be fulfilled. We are pinning great hopes on this route because it will both constitute a stable mail connection with Yerevan and good communications by bus.

[Question] From where will the state orders be placed with the enterprises of republican importance in the oblast?

[Sidorov] Our plans are approximately as follows: We shall first go over to the independent, comprehensive, economic accountability policy so as to reduce orders placed by the state. State orders of union, republican, and local origin amount to 12 percent as things stand today. But this situation—why hide it—has literally thrown the leaders of a number of enterprises into a state of shock. They have all been so carried away by policies that they have failed to give the slightest thought as to how they will work next year, who their customers and suppliers will be, or where their funds will come from. Independence and responsibility has taken them by surprise. Many enterprises today are essentially poised on the brink of unemployment as a result of having failed to ensure appropriate raw materials.

We have asked that all our supplies be provided from the center. This was also envisaged in the decision of the Council of Ministers. And what is preventing a move over to economic accountability? Is it the level of preparedness in the oblast? Our marketers are unable to take over the responsibility of all matters under the prevailing state of affairs. They are not ready because there is no quality classification, there are no stores, and there are no stable ties. We are obliged to learn as we go along.

One has to show common sense in this matter; there is no room in economic life for useless ideological motives. The funds that Azerbaijan has received for Nagorno-Karabakh, Karabakh has to received from Azerbaijan. What can be managed to be obtained through direct ties with the union, will be received from the union. Whatever Armenia can help with, will come from Armenia. [passage omitted]

It is natural that the normal existence of the oblast is impossible without sensible ties, shaped by history, with Azerbaijan. Serving these ties would have been unwise both in the economic and political sense. The principle is the same here: mutual respect between the parties with an equal interest in a balanced exchange.

As for the Azeri population's ties with the republic, its educational, cultural, and other affiliations, it will feel not the least limitation. All of us must show a fine sense of consideration and a grasp of ethnic characteristics in this matter. Any other approach will lead to a resurgence of ethnic animosity. We shall not go down that path.

[Question] The illegal closing down of the Lachin and Kazakh state autoroutes proved a serious obstacle to the implementation of the socioeconomic program. Has the problem of opening these routes been solved? If so, what guarantees are there for the security of users?

[Sidorov] The routes are open. Existing military guard posts are overseeing and guaranteeing security. The military commander reports to us daily that the confiscation of weapons—sometimes in large quantities—continues. There will be military guard posts on the routes in question in the future as well. But there are no restrictions on the movement of the population. We are working very intensively toward having passenger accommodation built at our airport and to arrange to have uninterrupted air services. This is one of the tasks of strengthening ties with Armenia. [passage omitted]

Arutyunyan Addresses Armenian Party Session 23 Feb

NC0803165289 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 6 Mar 89

[For earlier reportage on the 23 February meeting of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee meeeting, see page 51 of the 9 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT]

[Text] Yerevan, 6 Mar, ARMENPRES—As was already reported recently, a meeting was held in the republic between the republic's party and government leaderships and the representatives of the intellectuals. The republic's press has published extensively on that meeting.

Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, opened the meeting with an introductory speech in which he said:

We are gathered here with a single purpose in mind: to hear your opinions on the question of solving the basic problems which distress the republic's workers and the public. It is not the first time that we have conferred with intellectuals.

Immeasurably complex problems of reconstruction work have risen before us in connection with the efforts to eliminate the consequences of the unprecedentedly destructive earthquake. The work to be accomplished is massive. It is enough to mention the fact that we have lost 8 million square meters of residential space. According to the lowest estimates, within 2 years we must build (?4.2) billion square meters of houses in the cities and towns and 1.6 billion square meters in the rural areas. The number of homeless people is (?540,000), and 170,000 have been left jobless.

Referring to the introduction of the special form of administration in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], the first secretary of the Central Committee underlined that it is a well-balanced decision reached through mutual concessions, and that on this issue there are no victors and vanquished but that common sense and good-will have won. This form of administration is a mutual concession prescribed by this parameter, which creates the basis for the stabilization of relations between the two neighbouring peoples.

Referring to the existing moral and political climate, Suren Arutyunyan underlined that our people truly find themselves in a grave psychological situation. For that very reason, the priority problem emerging before us is removing people from that situation and instilling confidence in surmounting the difficulties. This task is of course massive. Regarding the stance of the intellectuals, it is obvious that their pronouncements are authoritative and carry great weight. The realization of the entire creative process, be it economic, political, or ideological, depends to a large extent on the stance to be adopted by the intellectuals.

Next, the first secretary of the Central Committee warned against attempts to provoke and instigate the people with impulsive remarks. Our priority problem, he said, is to cull people's energies. If we are genuine patriots and if we want to resolve the problems facing us, then we must transcend our personal pride and our often narrow egotistical interests. We are relying heavily on our creative and sympathetic intellectuals; we appreciate and respect them, and we cannot conceive of our work without their most active participation.

I think, said Suren Arutyunyan at the end of his introductory words, that our exchange of views here will be sincere, principled, and helpful. Let us think together about the republic's affairs, about the problems and cares before it, about how we can best utilize the energies of the intellectuals for the good of Armenia and the Armenian people and for the sake of perestroyka.

Then, the participants of the meeting came forward.

Architect Armvin Grigoryan spoke about the huge reconstruction work in the disaster area and referred to the enormous help shown by the union organizations to draft the designs, adding that for the assistance plan for NKAO to be successfully implemented, the oblast must be provided with expert architects and a design institute should be set up there.

Poet Gevorg Emin pointed out that the town of Ashdarag is the point connecting the northern parts of the republic with the capital and said that it is necessary to speed up the construction of the new two-lane bridge.

Actor Sos Sarkisyan expressed the view that Yerevan's future expansion must be halted by establishing, for example, a new capital with a population of 100,000.

Writer Zori Balayan expressed his displeasure over the fact that the mass media are not reporting the ongoing developments as they should. For example, the questions of the publication of "ARTSAKH" newspaper in the NKAO and the creation of an oblast-wide organization of journalists have been resolved, he said, yet in our republican press nothing has been written about this.

Poetess Silva Kaputhkyan said that she recently participated in the full-scale meeting of the writers union committee in Moscow, that her address was well received, and that the Moscow press has published the most important excerpts on the NKAO and Sumgait. I think that the ice of mistrust between the Armenians and Azerbaijanis must thaw, she said, but for that to occur both peoples must know the historical truths.

Shchors Davityan, the editor of the "SOVETAKAN AYASTAN" paper, replying to a criticism of the press by one of the meeting's participants, indicated that neither the secretary of the Central Committee nor the relevant department has imposed any restrictions on publications in the paper. He added that in order to receive satisfactory information from the NKAO, the "SOVETAKAN AYASTAN," the Russian langauge "KOMMUNIST," and "ARMENPRES" must have special reporters there. In response, the first secretary of the Central Committee expressed his agreement and it was then indicated that "ARMENPRES" already has its special correspondent there.

Writer Vartges Petrosyan, speaking about the relationship between party organs and the press, indicated that at present mutual restraint is exercised and that this is correct. It is not possible to avoid historical facts, he said. The Armenians and Azerbaijanis have lived side by side and must continue to live like this. The good-neighborly relations must be shaped together through mutual effort.

Poet Grachya Oganesyan said in his address that our general disposition toward the Central Committee is very positive. We appreciate its work, he said, within the context of solving problems in the present incredibly complex situation. The Central Committee must place greater trust in the intellectuals and rely on them more solidly, and the press, he added, must reflect the people's hard work, for it is necessary to inspire confidence in the future in the people, who since the traumatic natural disaster have not been able to remove themselves from the spiritual trauma.

It is incumbent upon us today to understand ourselves, to understand the republic, and to understand the people, he said. It is also necessary to cast a new glance at our history. Recently, the Russian writer Yuriy Nakibin in an article in "PRAVDA" was able to see Sergey Rakhmaninov's position in a new light: Rakhmaninov has not refused to return to Russia, but to Stalinist Russia. The central press shed light on the well-known "Georgian case" without any theatrics or secrecy. I am sure that factual and truthful talk and a considered approach toward certain historical personalities is a must for us in these days, he added.

Historian Gagik Sarkisyan, a full member of the Armenian Academy of Sciences, spoke about the necessity of objectively examining the Karabakh Movement. He said that numerous labels are being pinned on that movement, such as extremism, nationalism, and so forth. However, he added, did the Karabakh Movement not rise from the people and thanks to perestroyka? Let us look at it calmly and see what is genuine in that movement, what is contemporary and what is not, he said. The natural disaster wrote into our history, into the modern-day Armenia, a totally new [word indistinct], unprecedented friendly assistance, warm and friendly treatment from the USSR, the whole region, and the whole globe. This warms our hearts and we must exert all our efforts to strengthen the faith of our people in the future.

Academician Viktor Ambartsumyan underlined that at present the most important thing for us is the people's moral strength and spiritual health. He said: I often meet with people and—let me say unreservedly—they are all perturbed by manifestations of uncivility, egoism, and bribery. People see in these actions the causes of the public's spiritual disintegration. Today, conscientious work is incumbent not only on the enterprises, but on all of us as well. If a lecturer encourages the students to strike, he is doing nothing less than opening holes in the knowledge and conscience of the future specialists.

Next, Lev Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, addressed the meeting. He said that the most important issue at present is the speedy recovery from the consequences of the earthquake. We have made a special plan, he said, so that by next winter no more tents will need be used as dormitories, schools, or kindergartens. Voronin declared that the Armenian people are natural builders. Therefore, instead of enlisting people from other republics, it is necessary to engage the local population in the construction work in the disaster area. A wide scope of grand works await the Armenian people, and these will be accomplished because Soviet Armenia is undertaking them in cooperation with our entire country.

Suren Arutyunyan, the first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, summarized the results of the meeting. We are sure of our people's hardiness and wisdom, their ability to mobilize and focus their energy and will, their dedication, and their decisive position on perestroyka.

Referring to the Karabakh Movement, the first secretary of the Central Committee said that the NKAO problem had left its imprint on the republic's overall ideological-political scene. Our people, he said, wanted to see in the Karabakh Movement a positive and restructuring outlook; however, certain forces managed to attach themselves to the movement and exploit the unresolved difficulties, attempting to sharpen the interethnic relations. The tragedy in Sumgait provided them with special impetus. The activists of the "Karabakh" committee, by exploiting the NKAO's complex problem, were provoking instincts and undertaking illegal activities. By their irresponsible calls and activities, he said, they were in fact undermining the solution to the problem. The real-life situation showed that the complex problem of the NKAO could not be solved through confrontation and interethnic animosity, but through reasonable and reciprocal political concessions.

The intellectuals have always been the conscience of the nation, he said, and during the breaking points the people's spiritual health depends on them. Who else but the intellectuals must stand behind us in this difficult job? Spiritual longing is no less a potent healer and succorer of pain than medicine, and it creates confidence in the future. Our entire people must unite to overcome the consequences of the catastrophe. This is our generation's duty to the present, future, and past, the first secretary of the Central Committee said at the end of his speech.

Commission on Armenia Examines Sanitary Situation

LD1103184989 Moscow TASS in English 1724 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] Yerevan March 11 TASS—The Armenian earthquake relief commission on the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, at its regular meeting here on Saturday, considered the topicality and seriousness of the influence of the sanitary situation of the course of rehabilitation work in the earthquake-ravaged areas of Armenia.

The commission drew the attention of the leaders of health-care services, the agro-industrial sector, housing, public utilities and everyday-service establishments of the republic of slowness and the lack of coordination in their actions in taking a series of measures to create necessary conditions for people's life, to protect their health and to maintain a favourable sanitary and epidemiological situation.

It was suggested that sanitary supervision requirements in provisional housing settlements, at trade and catering establishments be stiffened.

Evaluating the course of preparation for springtime field-work, the commission recognised as unsatisfactory the rate of the repair of machinery, the rehabilitation of the irrigation network and the quality of the seed stock. The heads of union ministries and departments were given assignments concerning unresolved matters.

More on Commission on Sanitation

NC1303100189 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 12 Mar 89

["Items from Newspaper Pages" Program]

[Text] The sharp warming up of the climate in the earthquake-damaged areas of the republic brought with it additional anxieties. All the papers write that the situation of the health of hundreds of thousands of people was examined at the CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission. Ivan Silayev, the deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, conducted the regular meeting of the commission.

Emil Gabriyelyan, the Armenian health minister, in his statement made a detailed analysis of the medical and sanitary measures being taken at the damaged cities and villages. The most basic of these measures are: The improvement in the distribution of daily necessities to the population, the supervision over the public consumption goods and trade centers, the vaccination of the population, and the [word indistinct] of the medicines and other [words indistinct] in those places where animals have been buried. It was stressed that in order to prevent epidemics, it is necessary to undertake [word indistinct] not only in the state enterprises but also in the private barns of the citizens and to hunt down stray animals. According to weather predictions, this year's spring will be extremely warm, therefore the datelines for field work will be almost 21 days earlier. Forty-five per cent of the mines of the republic is in the damaged zone, (?which brings in) the problem of rural workers.

The commission examined in detail the matter of agro-industry's preparedness for spring. A statement was read on this issue by Vladimir Movsisyan, the chairman of the republic's state agro-industrial committee.

Martirosyan, chairman of the republic's state committee of people's control, in his statement spoke about the (?supervision) of the progress of rebuilding work in Leninakan.

The commission found it expedient to set up headquarters in Spitak town to directly supervise its reconstruction.

UN Body Issues Report on Armenian Earthquake

LD1103121189 Moscow TASS in English 0902 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] New York March 11 TASS—The earthquake in the Armenian SSR led to a virtually unprecedented show of international solidarity, in terms of both magnitude and geographical representation. Such is the main conclusion of a report of the office of the United Nations Disaster Relief Coordinator (UNDRO), which was issued at the U.N. Headquarters on Friday.

As of 31 January 1989 emergency contributions to Armenia from 67 countries to help eliminate the earthquake consequences amounted to 117 million dollars (without contributions in kind and services for which the donors did not indicate any value to UNDRO), the report says. The total foreign relief aid was highest reported to UNDRO for a single, recent natural disaster. The sum includes not all contributions in cash, since receipts from individuals and companies are continuing and have not yet been counted. The report stresses that 90 per cent of the total aid to the earthquake-hit area came from the Soviet Union itself.

A big volume of international aid is also attributed to extraordinary measures taken by the Soviet authorities to facilitate its flow, UNDRO stresses. The Soviet government allowed unlimited access to disaster areas, visas were granted on the spot to relief workers and journalists upon their arrival at Yerevan airport, free transport of international relief assistance was provided by Aeroflot, free fuel was offered to international relief flights for their return journeys, unrestricted access to airports in disaster areas was given to all kinds of aircraft, including military. Handling fees were waived for foreign relief flights, international assistance was exempt from customs and other duties.

At the peak of relief operations some 1,000 foreign workers were in the disaster areas alongside 30,000 Army and civilian workers from the Armenian and other Soviet socialist republics. "There was a kaleidoscope of different languages and operating methods which, even under normal circumstances, would have been difficult to organise and co-ordinate", the report says.

Soviet officials could not indicate to the evaluation mission how many of the 15,000 people rescued alive from ruins and debris were extracted by foreign teams, the report says. They confirmed, however, that most of the people were saved in the first hours after the diaster, i.e. before the arrival of the foreign teams.

UNDRO was officially notified by the USSR Mission in Geneva that international aid would be accepted. "Such a decision would have been unthinkable some years ago and represented a major change in USSR policy", the USSR had accepted international assistance on only two past occasions. The first was during the great famine in the 1920's, the second was through the Red Cross during the Second World War.

By focusing daily world attention on the fate of the victims, the television and press played a key role in stimulating international aid. Disaster coverage benefited from the great amount of information made available by the Soviet media and was, on the whole, extensive and accurate. Then open and self-critical attitude of the Soviet authorities greatly facilitated objective reporting.

Yerevan Commandant's Statement on Curfew Violations

NC1103122189 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Statement by the military commandant of the special district]

[Text] The situation in the republic's capital and in other areas where the hours of curfew are in force is under the full supervision of the troops and organs of the Interior Ministry.

Today, 75 people were detained and 28 cars impounded in Yerevan for violating the curfew hours and for circulating without identity cards and (?authorized) documents.

Three persons were detained and 20 cars impounded for violating the curfew hours in other areas of the republic where the curfew is in force.

No incidents or crimes have occurred in connection with the enforcement of the requirements of the curfew hours.

In reply to the inquiries of the citizens of the republic concerning the fate of the Karabakh Movement's leaders, we hereby inform you that a statement has been issued on that problem in the (?22) February, 1989 issue of KOMMUNIST newspaper.

Azerbaijan Central Committee Holds Plenum 7 Mar

NC0803124589 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee held a plenum on 7 March 1989. The plenum heard a report by the Central Committee Bureau on the work that has been carried out since the plenum held by the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee on 13 November 1988. The report was read by Gasan Gasanov, secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee.

The debate that was held on the matter was addressed by Muslim Mamedov, first secretary of the Baku Gorkom; his comrade (?Meze) Ibragimov; Zeynalov, first secretary of the Pushkino Raykom; (?Kalagada), an operator affiliated with the Apsheronskiy Rayon Oil and Gas Extraction Administration; Abdurakhmanov, first secretary of the Zakatal'skiy Raykom; Mamedov, first secretary of the Yardymly Raykom; and Gasan Aliyev, a brigade worker affiliated with the poultry factory in Apsheronskiy Rayon.

The plenum approved the bureau's work during the accounting period to deepen the reconstruction policy, normalize the situation in the republic, and remove inter-ethnic discord. The plenum noted that restructuring all the domains of sociopolitical life in a revolutionary way, consolidating the social, economic, ideological, and moral conditions in the republic, further strengthening the guidance given to the process of establishing a link between organizational and ideological work, strengthening party discipline, maintaining democratization and glasnost, and intensifying demands on the leading cadres must be the most important task of the central committee bureau in the future as well.

The party committees were assigned the task of (?pursuing) their work in deepening the reconstruction process and establishing and putting into effect measures aimed at removing the shortcomings and mistakes in their work. Particular attention must be focused on the strengthening of liaison with the masses and on the meeting of their needs and demands. In view of this, each and every primary party organization must work with initiative and resoluteness and in accordance with contemporary demands. Furthermore, they must upgrade the vanguard role of the Communists and put the idea of reconstruction into practice.

The plenum heard a report by Abbasov, member of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and director of the Caspian Oil and Gas Production Union, on his personal contribution toward the realization of the housing program. Mamedov, chairman of the Sheki Rayispolkom, [name indistinct]; an electrical welder affiliated with the Korovabad [words indistinct]; (?Mortesyan), first secretary of the Korov Raykom; Akhmedov, [title indistinct]; and Rustamov, deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers Presidium, addressed the debate that was held on the report.

The decision adopted by the plenum noted that Abbasov carried out significant work to increase the pace of the construction of residential quarters and improve the housing conditions of the citizens. For example, the transfer of 460 families to new houses in accordance with the [word indistinct] housing program in 1988 has been accomplished. However, the Communist youths have not been fully using the opportunities at their disposal and the authority vested in them for the realization of the tasks related to the construction of houses. Nor have they been focusing the required attention on the need to strengthen and further improve the material and technical basis of the construction of houses.

The plenum advised Abbasov to take measures to quickly remove the existing deficiencies, eliminate the backwardness that was allowed to exist in 1989, and secure the successful realization of the plans related to the construction of residential quarters and other social and cultural installations.

The plenum asked the republic's ministries and main administrations, the rayispolkoms and gorispolkoms, and the Communist officials of the unions and establishments to take (?effective) measures for the successful realization of the housing program and focus particular attention on the demographic and other aspects of the rayons, the situation of [word indistinct] buildings, and the improvement of [words indistinct].

The plenum participants heard a report by Polyanichko, second secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, on the situation of the election campaign for the USSR deputies. The plenum advised the party, soviet, and social organizations to take concrete measures to remove the deficiencies in the organizational work carried out during the preparation made for the election of the USSR deputies and in mass political work. The plenum focused particular attention on [words indistinct].

The plenum discussed the question of organization. Gasan Seidov was relieved of his post as member of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau on grounds that he retired. Mikhail Zaytsev was relieved of his responsibilities as member of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau on grounds that he has been appointed to another post. The plenum elected Ayaz Mutalibov, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers Presidium as member of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau. Mamedov, first secretary of the Baku Gorkom, and (?Tatov), a military official, were elected as members of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and Central Committee Bureau.

Guseynov, deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers Presidium and chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR State Planning Committee, was promoted from his rank as candidate member of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee to become member of the Central Committee. Abdullayev, first deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers Presidium and chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR State Committee for the Agro-Industrial complex, was elected as member of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee.

Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, addressed the convocation.

Azerbaijan Party Economic Aktivs Meet 6 Mar

NC0703092489 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] The [Azerbaijan] party economic aktivs held a meeting in Baku today. The convocation examined in depth the health program in the republic, the tasks of the republic's party, Soviet, and social organizations related to the maintenance of public health, and matters concerning the consolidation of the material and technical basis of the health centers.

Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, addressed the meeting.

Baku Military Commandant Notes Trade Violations

NC0703095589 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Notice by the Military Commandant's Administration of the Baku City Special District]

[Text] The situation remained unchanged in the city, and violations of public law have not been recorded.

However, the military commandant's headquarters has received many complaints from the city's residents regarding the disruption of rules which apply in trade. It must be noted that the negative developments prevent normalization of life in the city. The measures that have been put into effect by the appropriate organizations have not been sufficiently effective. Various unlawful activities, such as the stocking of goods which are not frequently sold and the deceiving of customers in total prices, including other unlawful activities by trade workers, were observed in a number of shops and public establishments which are responsible for food supply during an inspection that was jointly carried out by the representatives of the people's control aktivs and military servicemen.

For example, the stocking of goods worth R4,119 has been discovered in shop No 49, which is managed by Akhundov and affiliated with the Apsheron Cooperatives Union. Price tags were not placed on the commodities in the same shop. On the other hand, (?Musa Kasumov) deceived the inspectors in the total price by R116 in the [word indistinct] No 1, which is affiliated with the food supply union in Oktyabr'skiy Rayon. Meanwhile, it has been established that this establishment is headed by a person known as Irfan Aliyev. However, he has not been registered in the rayon's public food supply system. An investigation is being conducted into the matter.

Regrettably, such cases are not few. The leading officials of the appropriate administrations and establishments must carry out intensive work to obstruct them and succeed in establishing serious law and order in trade and food supply. Their role in maintaining peace and public law in the city is not insignificant.

[Signed] The Military Commandant's Administration of the Baku City Special District.

Deformities, Cancer Cases Increase in Ukraine

PM1003100589 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 8, 19 Feb 89 p 12

[Vladimir Kolinko report: "Radioactive Echo. The Ukraine's Peasant Farms After the Chernobyl Accident"; last three paragraphs are MOSCOW NEWS comment]

[Text] In late April 1986, the newly created headquarters of the commissions were crowded and confused. Scientists, engineers and administrators who came to Pripyat and Chernobyl did not yet have sufficient information about what had happened. Crimson fluorescence was still seen above the destroyed reactor, smoke was rising up, and radiometric charts of the territory were not yet compiled. But there were already endless disputes, with experts trying to give their assessments. In that commotion I heard much, including what was not intended for journalists' ears.

Then the information was increasingly screened and filtered. However, much is still fresh in my memory. And something of what I heard at that time is becoming clear to me only now, concerning the authenticity of some of the initial forecasts.

'Clean' and 'Unclean'

People living in the Narodichi district of the Zhitomir region were not evacuated: Its nearest villages are located 50 km away from the Chernobyl atomic power station [APS], the distant ones 90 km. But, on April 26, 1986, the east wind was blowing—dragging in its wake a cloud dropping radioactive particles. Even today there are places here where radiation from top soil exceeds 80 curies per sq.km.

Last autumn, having "felt" the farmstead belonging to Pavlina Strutskaya with my dosimeter, I didn't find a corner with the level of gamma-radiation below 0.2 milliroentgens an hour, and at the gates where the mistress of the house was talking to her neighbours it was more than two milliroentgens. Compare this with the level of natural background - 0.014 milliroentgens an hour in Kiev for instance.

But Anatoliy Melnik, first secretary of the Narodichi district party committee, who has unwittingly become an expert in "applied radiology", believes that the main danger today is in something different. The main thing, in his view, is the supply of radionuclides into the organism together with food products. Dairy and meat products are still being delivered to the most polluted villages from other regions, and every villager is paid a subsidy for their purchase - one rouble a day. However, this solves the problem only in part: There are patently not enough clean products. And despite doctors' warnings, many drink milk from local cows and still gather fruits and vegetables on their local plots.

"The division of the villages in the district into 'clean' and 'unclean' could only be devised by a bureaucrat whose office is situated far away," the district party committee secretary said with bitterness. "Radioactive dust is moved by the wind from place to place; it is spread by streams after rain, by herds grazing here and there and by omnipresent transport."

Leonid Ilin, vice-president of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, repeatedly declared after the Chernobyl accident that relatively small doses of radiation do no harm to the health. But, before the accident, he was editor of a book in which we see written in black and white: "Even relatively small doses of radiation disrupt conditioned reflex activities, modify the bioelectric activity of the cortex, and give rise to biochemical and metabolic changes in the molecular and cellular levels." The academician's present-day optimism does not convince everyone.

Freaks of Nature

At the animal farm of the Petrovskiy collective farm I was shown a suckling pig whose head looked like that of a frog: instead of eyes there were large tissue outgrowths with no cornea or pupil.

"One of the many freaks of nature," said Petr Kudin, the collective farm veterinary surgeon. "They usually die soon after birth, but this one has survived."

The farm is small: 350 cows and 87 pigs. During the five years leading up to the accident at the Chernobyl APS there were only three cases of freak suckling pigs, calves were always born normal. During the first year after the accident the birth of 64 freaks was registered at the farm: 37 suckling pigs and 27 calves. During the first nine months of 1988 - 41 suckling pigs and 35 calves. Most often, calves are born without a head or limbs, without eyes or ribs. The pigs are distinguished by exophthalmus, deformation of the skull and so on.

"And what do scientists say? After all, a special Institute of Agricultural Radiology has been set up in Kiev."

"They have shown no particular interest in our farm," Petr Kudin replied. "They examined several corpses of newly-born freaks and said that there could be a hundred causes totally unrelated to radiation. I am a veterinary surgeon and I know this. But the statistics concerning freak animals point to one definite cause. Cattle feed is grown in fields contaminated with radionuclides. Even procurers refuse to accept the cattle for slaughter—the radiation levels do not meet the norm."

What Do We Pay For?

The woman who took the goggle-eyed suckling pig to the street for me to take a picture said, with tears in her eyes:

"My daughter has just got married. What will he be like, my grandson?"

I did not have courage enough to reassure the woman.

The above-quoted (pre-accident) book cites data by leading Soviet radiologists A.K. Guskova, A.A. Moiseyeva, L.L. Sokolina: The accumulated doses of 4.4 microcuries of caesium-137 or 0.4 microcuries of strontium-90 may cause considerable mutations in the human organism, such quantities indicate the need to organize treatment.

Here are some statistics from the Narodichi district's medical service: Today between one and two microcuries of caesium-137 have been registered for 35 per cent of the inhabitants of the district, from three to five microcuries for more than four per cent and from five to ten microcuries for almost four per cent. The thyroid glands of more than half the children in the district have been affected, a considerable part of them to the second and third degree.

The officials of the republic's health service say that there is no danger to human health outside the limits of the 30-km zone around the APS. But no specific information is given to those who happen to come to Kiev for medical checkups. Women are excited, however: Why, if there's no danger, are they recommended not to have children?

"Our medical workers," says Anatoliy Melnik, "have noted an increase in the number of chronic cases among the population, and deteriorations in the postoperational period among surgical patients. The mean annual number of cancer cases, notably cancer of the lip and mouth cavity, has doubled.

So, are we living under normal or extreme conditions? If the conditions are extreme there is a need for large-scale concerted action. What is being done is not enough."

"There is a need to cover all roads, all backyards and permanent grounds for farm work with asphalt. So far, not even a quarter of this has been done. The provision of gas heating to inhabited localities proceeds at a low pace: for the time being, they are mainly heated with firewood. The extent to which it is suitable here can be gauged from the recommendations to wash firewood before use and in no case to use the ashes as fertilizer for kitchen gardens.

"There is a multitude of other questions which the district cannot solve on its own. Why, for example, do the peasants, who have sustained colossal damage through the fault of power industry workers, have to spend their money on pressurized cabins for tractors. Such a cabin protecting the machine operator against radioactive dust costs 1,400 roubles, but hundreds of them are needed."

Local authorities are not free to give the inhabitants of the district longer holidays, although practice has shown that, over a month and a half or two months, caesium-137 is effectively removed from the organism outside the bounds of contaminated locality.

We talk much today about a state committed to the rule of law. We must build it. Then people in the same Narodichi district will not have to play the humiliating role of petitioners. They would have a right to demand—namely to demand instead of begging—full compensation from the government department which is to blame for the losses. To say nothing of the right to full information about people's health and the state of the earth.

When this article was being prepared for publication, a preview of the 20-min-long documentary "Microphone!", by director Georgiy Shklyarevskiy of Kiev, was being shown in Moscow. The filming group worked in the Narodichi District of the Zhitomir Region—in parts which Vladimir Kolinko writes about. All that he has said and many other things we have on film, in September-November 1988.

The film makes a strong impression. However, there were difficulties with the censorship people. Under the existing regulations, any work on Chernobyl must pass through an expert commission under the aegis of the State Committee of the USSR for the Use of Nuclear Power, which includes representatives from different government departments. The Ministry of Public Health of the USSR put forward the condition that the interviews with medical workers should be cut. The State Committee of the USSR for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control asked that the dosimetrist working on site with apparatus be cut. "The artistic merits of your film will not be affected by this," the makers were reassured.

In late January the film was released against all odds. We are sure that "Microphone!" will make many reflect seriously upon what happened and listen more carefully to Chernobyl's echo.

Ukraine Consumer Societies Congress 24-25 Feb

AU0603140889 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 26 Feb 89 p 1

[RATAU report: "A Congress of the Ukraine's Cooperative Consumers Societies"]

[Text] The tasks set for further developing the republic's cooperative consumers societies, in light of the decisions of the 27th party congress, the succeeding CPSU Central Committee plenums, and the 19th all-union party conference, were discussed at the 15th congress of the Ukraine's cooperative consumers societies, held in Kiev on 24-25 February. S.V. Litvinenko, chairman of the board of the Ukrainian Union of Consumers Societies, delivered an accountability report.

The congress was addressed by V.A. Masol, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers chairman.

Participating in the congress proceedings were Ye.V. Kachalovskiy, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers first deputy chairman; S.I. Gurenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo candidate member and secretary; V.D.

Gladush and V.G. Urchukin, Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers deputy chairmen; N.G. Khomenko, Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium secretary; A.P. Savchenko, Socioeconomic Department chief in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; S.M. Kuzmichev, first deputy chairman of the board of the Central Union of Consumers Societies; responsible officials of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and Council of Ministers; and leaders of a number of ministries and departments.

A report on the congress proceedings will be published.

Ukraine Movement's Restructuring Program Viewed

AU0903143789 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 3 Mar 89 p 3

[Letter to the Editor: "Invitation to Constructivism"]

[Text] The draft program of the People's Movement of the Ukraine for Restructuring is to be examined from the perspective of restructuring tasks in the Ukraine. Adhering to the democratic principles proclaimed by the CPSU and in realizing that without the broad participation of the public, restructuring is unthinkable, the initiating group of the Kiev organization of the Ukrainian Writers Union and the T.H. Shevchenko Literary Institute under the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences has drafted its program. I would like to tackle some of the program's principles from the perspective of a lawyer on the staff of a rayispolkom.

Having refused to accept the dogmas from stagnant times, the founding group set for itself a three-fold task: to democratize society, to renew the economy on the basis of republic-level economic accountability, and to return to the basis of Leninist nationality policy. These are precisely the principles upon which restructuring stands. This is why it would have been strange if the program was based only on the valid normative acts, proposing nothing for the future nor setting immediate and more long-term goals.

In Donetsk Oblast, the democratization of society is progressing rather slowly, and is meeting resistance which is sometimes furious and, I would say, refined. The breakup of the bureaucratic administrative system and the transformation of the soviets of peoples deputies into competent and capable organs of people's representatives with full powers on their territories will upset, to put it politely, the high-handed policies pursued by union departments, and the introduction of payments for the procurement of natural resources will give support to the rather shaky ecological situation in the Ukraine.

In my opinion, the time has come to return to the achievements of the February 1917 Revolution which had abolished privileges and "estates" ["sosloviya"], to restore social justice, and to eliminate special stores servicing only important officials. The abolition of the passport system and of residence permits, institutions which convert people into serfs, should be the final goal of the movement.

Economic reform and transferring enterprises and departments over to economic accountability should have their logical completion in republic-level economic accountability and, on the basis of the latter, in the growing prosperity of the republic's population.

The support given by the movement to the T. Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society in restoring the Leninist principles in the nationality policy will enable the society to accomplish its main task—to win for Ukrainian the status of an official state language in the republic, and in this way to gradually enable Ukrainian culture and the language to obtain an independent position in the sovereign republic, which has its own mission at the United Nations.

I had a chance to criticize the movement's draft program, but I intentionally left that for the others. Instead, I have taken advantage of the opportunity to show the constructive sides of the draft. I invite everyone else to participate in constructivism, and not to sink to the bottom of fault-finding.

[Signed] I. Shutov, legal adviser to Kievskiy Rayispolkom in Donetsk.

Editor's note: We have published I. Shutov's letter not because we agree with his basic theses. Many of our correspondents have already refuted his opinions in a well substantiated way. However, we believe that the opinions expressed in the letter are characteristic of the adherents to the movement's program. Thus, we have continued the discussion.

Fokin Chairs Ukraine's Economic Council

AU0603112189 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 25 Feb 89 p 3

[RATAU report: "Establishing an Economic Council"]

[Text] The Economic Council, which was set up in accordance with a decision of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, is called upon to accelerate the restructuring processes in the activity of the Ukrainian SSR Gosplan, to increase the latter's role in developing and pursuing one single policy in the sphere of planning, material-technical supplies, pricing, wages, money circulation, and credits, and to more intensively coordinate the activity of all central economic organs in the republic. The council was chaired by V.P Fokin, Ukrainian SSR Gosplan chairman.

At its organizing session, the council examined the 1989-90 draft coordination plans for working out the basic principles of leadership in the republic's economy and social sphere on the basis of self-management and self-financing.

I.I. Lukinov, vice president of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences and director of the Economics Institute of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, and V.F. Besedin, acting director of the Economic Scientific Research Institute under the Ukrainian SSR Gosplan, took the floor at the session to expound on the problems concerning changeover of the republic's oblasts, towns, and rayons to self-financing and self-repayment.

Participating in the session proceedings were: I.A. Zabrodin, Ukrainian SSR minister of finance; P.I. Mostovoy, D.G. Nedashkovskiy, and N.A. Panteleyev, chairmen of Ukrainian SSR State Committees; V.I. Antonov, Ukrainian SSR Gosplan first deputy chairman; and V.D. Buryak, V.P. Matviyenko, N.I. Nos, A.A. Kolesnikov, and V.P. Trepilo, board chairmen of the republic's banks.

Ukrainian Body Seeks Information on Mass Burial

LD0703232489 Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian 2200 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] A routine session has been held at the Ukraine's Ministry of Internal Affairs of the governmental commission for the further study of the circumstances and documents connected with the mass burial of Soviet citizens in Darnitsa Park, in Kiev. The session heard reports by members of the governmental commission on the activities of the republic's investigatory bodies who were involved with this matter. The governmental commission decided to address the organs of state security with an official request regarding archive materials about the burial places of Soviet citizens suffering repression in the thirties.

Shcherbitskiy, Others Visit Shevchenko Monument

LD1303000789 Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian 0445 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Opposite Kiev State University—named after T. Shevchenko—there stands a monument unveiled 50 years ago to perpetuate his memory.

On the 175th anniversary of the birth of Taras Shevchenko the monument was visited by Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee, and members and candidate members of the Communist Party of Ukraine Central Committee Politburo: Gerasimov, Grintsov, Yelchenko, Kachalovskiy, Kachura, Masol, Sologub, Shevchenko, Kolomiyets, Kryuchkov, and Masik; also present were Orlik, chairman of the Shevchenko jubilee committee and deputy chairman of the UkSSR Council of Minsters; members of the jubilee comittee, and cultural figures. Paying respects to the memory of the glorious son of the Ukraine, they laid flowers at the base of the monument. On the ribbon there was a card "To Taras Hryhorovych Shevchenko from the Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee, the UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Council of Minsters." Red carnations were placed below the inscription on the pedestal: "And in the family great and new do not forget to remember me with a kind and peaceful word."

Shcherbitskiy Attends Kiev Anniversary Ceremony

LD1103225389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 11 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A ceremonial meeting devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Red Banner Kiev Military District was held in the capital of the Ukraine today. Taking part in the meeting was Comrade Shcherbitskiy.

R. Gorbacheva Visits Ukraine Culture Fund Branch

AU0603115289 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 25 Feb 89 p 3

[RATAU report: "The Spiritual Treasure of the People"]

[Text] To preserve the people's heritage and to convey spiritual treasures to the coming generations are the objectives of the Soviet Culture Fund. The activity of this public organization was discussed during the visit paid by R.M. Gorbacheva, member of the Soviet Culture Fund Presidium, to the fund's Ukrainian branch on 24 February.

B.I. Oleynik, chairman of the board of the Ukrainian Culture Fund, said that this year the Ukrainian branch has dedicated its main activity to the forthcoming 175th anniversary of the birth of Taras Shevchenko. Much attention has also been paid to implementing long-term programs, including "Pushkin in the Hearts of the Generations," "The Memory," "Youth and Culture," and "The Song." The programs call for the organization of charity soirees and concerts, museums, cultural preserves, and kobza [Ukrainian musical instrument] music schools, local lore and folklore expeditions, folk festivities, and the cultivation of new socialist customs. We should carefully preserve objects which are sacred for the people and make active use of them in the spiritual education of people, particularly the younger generation, and should actively assist the party in shaping their world outlook and noble moral ideals.

Having expressed her deep interest in the activity of the Ukrainian Culture Fund, in her conversation with the fund's leaders and aktivists, R.M. Gorbacheva pointed out the need not only to refer to the past, but also to concentrate attention on present cultural issues and on the continuity of the best traditions. This should be the purpose of the fund's long-term programs.

The Soviet Culture Fund, she emphasized, is a creation of restructuring. We consider that the substance of its activity lies in winning human hearts, in bringing up an army of culture enthusiasts and aktivists, in reviving the rich traditions of the people. We should respond to the developments of life, to all the worries of the Soviet people, we should raise our voice in the defense of the people's spiritual wealth and of the advanced social phenomena that are emerging in our creative times.

In the collection of the Ukrainian SSR State Literary Museum there are many unique exhibits. They show the works of prominent Ukrainian writers in close relation with the socioeconomic development of society before and after the October Revolution. In a conversation, the museum's staff members gave the visitor an account of the literary process in the Ukraine, and of the relations developing among the republic's men of letters and figures of culture.

R.M. Gorbacheva made the following entry in the visitors book of honor: "I am glad to have visited the museum. How many prominent names and works, near and dear to us all, there are here! I wish the collective success in its noble mission of propagating Ukrainian culture—a culture of a great people."

Moldavian Official Criticizes Finance Ministry

PM0803100589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with V. Protsenko, first deputy chairman of the Moldavian SSR Gosagroprom, by I. Karpenko under the rubric "Economic Accountability and Territory": "Who Should We Complain To Now?"; at the USSR Supreme Soviet, date not specified]

[Text] [Karpenko introduction] A recent session of the working group of USSR Supreme Soviet deputies to discuss the draft Law on Delimiting the Competence of the USSR and the Union Republics was addressed by V. Protsenko, a member of the commission and first deputy chairman of the Moldavian SSR Gosagroprom. Substantiating the need to clearly delimit and regulate not simply the competence of the sides but also their responsibility, he cited examples which aroused not so much a theoretical interest as frank indignation on the part of those present. In a break during the session, I asked the minister to tell me what had happened.

[Karpenko] Vyacheslav Aleksandrovich, could you give us a more detailed explanation of the situation that has arisen in the republic with the review of purchasing prices for durum wheat and hard wheat? In my opinion, this episode has more to do with the problems of red tape and bureaucracy than with the competence of the USSR and the republics or even with price formation....

[Protsenko] I would like to warn you from the start that I am not one of those people who look to solve problems by broadening the rights of their own republic to the maximum at others' expense—and certainly not at the expense of the rights of the USSR. These are extremist attitudes and simply harmful to the common cause. The union of republics has long been a unified, living organism, and the destruction of its traditional ties—ethnic, economic, and cultural—is intolerable. That would throw us all backward and mean our total ruin. I was referring to something else: the greatly increased responsibility for every decision under the conditions of restructuring, both at the center and at local level, and also the need to precisely and clearly regulate relations between the sides. Consequently, I believe that the above has direct bearing on questions of competence. This is also characteristic of the episode whose details you wish me to relate to you. I would remind you that since the second half of 1988 markups on purchase prices for durum wheat and hard wheat have increased. At the same time, however, the same resolution decreed that transfer prices for mixed feed also be increased in order to compensate for the state outlays.

[Karpenko] At first glance it all seems logical—it is hard to object to economic methods of managing output quality and the interests of the producer....

[Protsenko] Yes, although this seemingly harmless redistribution of resources has had very serious financial consequences in many regions of the country, where fattening complexes and poultry farms are developed and durum wheat is not grown. Losses here in Moldavia amount to more than R100 million per year—and you must realize that those who produce meat and poultry are not to blame for this in any way. The Finance Ministry gave every guarantee and firmly promised to compensate for the losses by the end of last year. But nothing has been done. All the explanations come down to the same thing—it is not our fault, the documents have gotten held up somewhere, waiting for a signature....

[Karpenko] Does this mean that the collectives of fattening complexes are now the only ones "to blame"? They are working on the basis of economic accountability, so how are they making ends meet? Where are they getting the money with which to pay people's wages?

[Protsenko] People are obviously being paid their wages. But it goes without saying that this situation cannot fail to affect the financial situation of the sector and economically accountable collectives, their development funds, and ultimately their bonuses. However, even this is not the full story. Enormous sums of money—R50 million every 6 months—are being taken out of circulation in Moldavia. And even if they were to repay us what they directly owe us today, no one will even consider compensating the republic for the indirect losses caused by the removal of this money from circulation. In any country with normal economic relations, the legal person responsible for these losses would pay interest on all the resources removed from circulation, and in addition a large fine. You must not think that this case is unique, the only one of its kind. Our construction workers have also found themselves in the same position, for example; they still have not been set a limit on credit for this year. But under the system of economic accountability they cannot even start work if they do not know exactly how much money they can count on. Again, it is the same old reason—someone "upstairs" still has to sign the necessary documents.

[Karpenko] Forgive me, but "arguments" like these may satisfy some people, but not a minister or a Supreme Soviet deputy. How do you put up with this kind of attitude? You cannot simply complain when it is your duty to act—make demands, try to get things done....

[Protsenko] You know, it has become fashionable for journalists to criticize present deputies for impotence, feebleness, even indifference. It is offensive to have to read and hear this sort of thing. Everyone is now writing about how people are going to elect others, convinced supporters of restructuring, and how the new Congress of People's Deputies will be able to work wonders.... I am not referring to your newspaper—you still seem to have some respect for deputies. I am simply grateful to IZVESTIYA for supporting and defending the lease system. But, if you think about it, we are going to have to elect the new congress from people who were around yesterday and who live, think, and work today. We simply have no one else to choose from. In order to become those "others," we have to restructure our own attitudes—and I do not only mean deputies, of course. I do not know whether I will be reelected or not, but I have done and am doing everything I can. And in this particular case you must believe me when I say that there is no authority to whom I do not write official letters, and on whose door I do not knock for these R50 million—right up to the Council of Ministers. It is the Council of Ministers, incidentally, that all the other authorities now cite. The only person I have not appealed to is Gorbachev....

[Karpenko] I am prepared to apologize sincerely for my "offensive words." But what you say is very serious—can I write it down in IZVESTIYA as you have said?

[Protsenko] You can, although I do realize, of course, that this will not improve my relations with the union departments. But perhaps it will help to get things moving. We cannot allow the republic and the state to suffer losses of millions of rubles because of a failure to act in the apparatus, or for want of a simple signature on a document. You can make what decisions you like and adopt the most democratic laws, but without a change of attitude in every one of us they will be useless, and restructuring will simply mark time.

[Karpenko conclusion] It is difficult to find fault with anything the minister has said. Economic reform and the introduction of economic accountability require the same changes in both management methods and the attitude of every one of us to the task in hand; otherwise there cannot be any talk of restructuring itself.

Maritime Kray Consumer Goods Targets Not Met

PM0803162389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "At the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee. On Serious Shortcomings in the Work of Certain Maritime Kray Communist Leaders in the Implementation of Party and Government Decisions To Increase the Production of Consumer Goods"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee has examined the question of the fulfillment of party and government decisions to increase the production of consumer goods by Maritime Kray Communist leaders. The decision adopted by the committee notes that the task, set by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference, of increasing the production of consumer goods and accelerating the saturation of the market with these goods by exploiting the potential of the new economic mechanism is being implemented unsatisfactorily in the kray.

The leaders who are in charge of this sector, CPSU members Comrade V.F. Lutsenko, chairman of the krayispolkom; Deputy Chairmen Comrades B.F. Bespalov, V.Ye. Lomnovskiy, and a number of others, have underestimated the importance of the expansion of the production of nonfood goods to satisfy the needs of the working people, demonstrate insufficient self-reliance in this matter, and display unjustified sluggishness and lack of initiative in their work. Little is being done to enhance the role in and responsibility of local soviet ispolkom chairmen, standing deputy commissions, and enterprise managers for the fulfillment of the comprehensive program drawn up to resolve this question. The work of enterprises and organizations and various ministries and departments is not being duly coordinated. A principled assessment has not been made of cases of unjustified price rises and discontinuation of the production of cheap goods.

As a result, the requirements of the kray's population in respect of many nonfood goods are not being met. The 3-year plan for the production of these goods has not been fulfilled and goods worth R17.9 million have not been supplied to the trade network. In 1988 this plan was not fulfilled by one in three cities and rayons, and by one in four enterprises. Very little is being done to exploit the potential of cooperatives and individual labor activity to replenish market resources. Two-thirds of the nonfood consumer goods sold in the kray have to be imported.

Light industry enterprises failed to fulfill the 3-year output sales plan. One in three of these enterprises failed to fulfill its contract commitments in 1988, and one in two failed to fulfill the state order. Because of a shortage of cadres, production capacities at these enterprises are only 50-80 percent utilized. The necessary work to enhance the skills of the labor force and to introduce economic accountability and the collective and lease contracts in all production subdivisions is not being carried out.

An especially unsatisfactory situation has developed at the leather and footwear production association. The production capacities of footwear production shops are only 60 percent utilized, the 1988 plan was only 75 percent fulfilled, and the debt incurred since the beginning of the 5-year plan totals more than 700,000 pairs of shoes. Quality control organs reject up to 40 percent of the checked output. Comrade V.A. Manakov, the general director, has allowed serious shortcomings to occur in production organization and the training of worker cadres.

The share of goods produced from local raw materials and production waste at local industry enterprises is considerably lower than the sector average. Most of the plants and combines producing consumer durables are operating only one shift. The production plan that has been adopted is below the 5-year-plan control figures, targets for the utilization of people working at home are not being met, and the share of nonmarket output is great.

The production of cultural articles in everyday use and of household goods at enterprises under union jurisdiction is increasing too slowly. Their per capita output is only half the RSFSR average. The target of the kray's comprehensive program to set up shops for the production of consumer goods at all enterprises has not been met. Many plants do not yet have such shops, do not produce consumer goods, or produce them in insignificant quantities.

Timber industry enterprise leaders are not paying sufficient attention to the production of consumer goods, including the simplest articles for the market. They have failed to deliver R1.6 million worth of goods since the beginning of the 5-year plan. At the construction site of the Lesozavodskiy furniture combine the deadline for the commissioning of capacities for the production of R33 million worth of furniture annually has twice been exceeded. In 15 years only half the estimated cost of the enterprise has been assimilated, and the 1988 construction and installation work plan was only 46 percent fulfilled.

Leaders of the kray's soviet and economic organs and enterprises have failed to adopt effective measures to involve in the national economy available labor resources, which total 17 percent of the ablebodied population.

Because of lack of supervision on the part of the krayispolkom, stocks of industrial consumer goods are being distributed among cities and rayons irrespective of population density. As a result, in some rural rayons 1.5-2 times fewer goods are being allocated per inhabitant than the kray average. The struggle against the practice of withholding goods in short supply from customers in stores and selling them in violation of the trade rules is being feebly pursued. Workers control is not being used sufficiently to establish order in the trade network.

The exactingness of the Maritime CPSU Kraykom, party gorkoms and kraykoms, and primary party organizations toward leaders who view the production of consumer goods without the necessary sense of responsibility is too low, and organizational and political work in labor collectives to this end is insufficient.

The CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee drew the attention of Comrade A.S. Golovizin, second secretary of the CPSU kraykom, to the poor work of party organizations in implementing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference to accelerate the saturation of the market with a wide range of goods, and to the inexacting attitude toward Communist leaders who tolerate serious shortcomings in this work.

CPSU member Comrade V.F. Lutsenko, chairman of Maritime Krayispolkom, was reprimanded for failure to adopt the necessary measures to ensure the implementation of party and government decisions on the development of consumer goods production, poor coordination of the work of local soviets and enterprises to meet the population's requirements for these goods, and shortcomings in the work to involve available labor resources in the solution of this task.

The committee meted out the same party punishment to CPSU member Comrade V.A. Manakov, general director of the leather and footwear production association, for serious shortcomings in production organization and cadre training, for systematic failure to fulfill footwear production targets, and for the low quality of footwear.

The attention of CPSU members Comrade A.A. Biryukov, RSFSR minister of the light industry, and Comrade A.G. Shumeyko, RSFSR minister of local industry, has been drawn to the failure of enterprises in these sectors located in Maritime Kray to fulfill 5-year-plan targets for the increased production and higher quality of consumer goods; to the underutilization at these enterprises of production capacities, local raw materials, and production waste; and to serious shortcomings in the solution of social and consumer issues in the life of these enteprises' collectives. Their declarations that these ministries will step up work to develop enterprises in Maritime Kray, increase their production of consumer goods, and eliminate the noted shortcomings have been acknowledged.

The CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee has acknowledged the statement of Comrade I.N. Sankin, USSR first deputy minister of the timber industry, and Comrade A.K. Savostyanov, USSR deputy minister of construction in the Far East and Transbaykal Regions, that they will adopt the measures necessary to ensure the fulfillment by enterprises located in Maritime Kray of plans for the production of consumer goods and to ensure the commissioning in 1989 of furniture-manufacturing capacities at the Lesozavodskiy furniture combine.

Maritime Fleet Ministry Appointments Made

LD1303095289 Moscow Maritime Service in Russian 0030 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] The USSR Council of Ministers has appointed Comrade Yuriy Aleksandrovich Mikhaylov deputy USSR minister of the maritime fleet for personnnel, having released from these duties Comrade Boris Pavlovich Trunov, who has been appointed deputy minister [as heard] of the maritime fleet of the USSR. In the same decision, Comrade Vladimir Ivanovich Tikhonov has been released from his duties as first deputy minister of the USSR maritime fleet, in connection with his retirement.

'State,' 'Law' Officials Discuss Restructuring

LD1103150389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1145 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, 11 Mar (TASS)—On 10-11 March, in the CPSU Central Committee, there was a conference of heads of departments of state and law on the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the union republics, and of kraykoms and obkoms, at which consideration was given to topical aspects of the departments' work to implement the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference.

Those attending the conference were addressed by Viktor Chebrikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Commission on Matters of Legal Policy.

A report by Aleksandr Pavlov, head of the CPSU Central Committee state and law department, was heard.

Those attending the conference exchanged views on a wide range of issues on the restructuring of party work and improving forms and methods of political guidance in the main areas of work of state and law departments.

The conference noted that the process of restructuring embraces all spheres of the life of society. The democratic institutions of the Soviet state are being perfected within the framework of radical political reform. The establishment of democratic and self-management principles in public and state life will impart a commanding role in regulating public relations to law-based methods. This is promoted by the implementation of judicial and legal reform. Its objective consists in strengthening legal bases of socialism and in securing the supremacy of law in the construction of a genuinely law-governed socialist state.

The renewal of Soviet legislature represents an essential aspect of the legal reform. In this connection attention was focused at the necessity of enhancing educational and organizational work aimed at securing undeviating adherance to the Soviet laws by all. It was stressed that the general legal education of the population and the enhancement of legal standards in state, economic, and public work require substantial improvement.

The participants in the conference noted that in the matter of strengthening legality and law and order it is necessary to raise the responsibility and enhance the authority of the court, procuracy, and militia. The restructuring of the work of law-enforcement bodies must promote strengthening of the efficiency of their work on preventing, stopping, and detecting crimes.

Attention was drawn to the fact that the process of the renewal of society, based on the principles of socialism, together with the all-round development of democracy and glasnost, the strengthening of discipline, order, and the degree of organization. Concern was expressed at the increasing crime rate in the country, including in an organized form. In this connection specific proposals were made regarding stepping up the struggle against infringements of the law and it was noted that the party's policy toward humanizing criminal legislation does not at all mean indulgences toward those who disregard Soviet laws, intentionally disturb public order and perpetrate grave crimes.

It was stressed that, speaking of the humanization of justice in respect of criminals, one must not forget the physical, material and moral damage, at times irreplaceable, inflicted by unlawful actions on specific people and society as a whole. The conference discussed the need to take measures to raise the legal protection of officials of law enforcement agencies.

Strengthening legality and law and order and stepping up the struggle against infringements of the law is possible on the basis of a comprehensive approach toward resolving these tasks and of pooling the efforts of all party, local soviet, and law enforcement bodies. It is necessary to step up the work of people's volunteer militia groups and to conduct a search for new forms of working people's participation in maintaining public order. The press and other mass media are facing crucial tasks in providing coverage of pressing problems of legal reform, of drawing up and applying new legislation and of restructuring the law enforcement mechanism, and of problems of raising the level of the legal standard of society.

Those attending the conference noted that many complicated problems of interethnic relations are connected with questions of their legal settlement. The development of a legal policy in the center and locally must be implemented, proceeding from local, ethnic and all-union interests and their indissoluble unity.

Work is now being carried out to study and generalize proposals regarding the improvement of interethnic relations within the framework of the preparations for the CPSU Central Committee plenum on these matters. In connection with the discussion of problems of mass defense work, it was stressed that the implementation of restructuring in the Army and Navy in accordance with the new Soviet defensive doctrine does not belittle the importance of pre-conscription military training of young people. The Soviet Armed Forces must receive a competent, physically trained replacement. This is required by the up-to-date level of technical equipment of the Army and Navy and by the country's defense interests. It was noted that restructuring in the armed forces and the overcoming of existing shortcomings are possible, given the vigorous support and participation of the entire Soviet public. The Soviet Armed Forces have been and remain the creation of the people. Service in the Army is a school of patriotic and internationalist education, of ideological and physical toughening of young people.

In connection with the peace initiatives of the Soviet state and the transfer to the reserve of a large number of servicemen, party, local soviet, and economic organizations are to display care to fix them up in jobs and housing. Special attention must be devoted to internationalist soldiers, to the relatives and nearest and dearest of those who perished while fulfilling their internationalist duty and giving internationalist assistance to the Republic of Afghanistan.

In the exchange of views special attention was devoted to questions of improving party work and to political forms and methods of party leadership. It was stressed that in this matter a decisive role is played by raising the militancy of primary party organizations, a consistent implementation of the party principles of education, selection and deployment of cadres, and organizational work to carry out the party's decisions.

Those taking part in the conference familiarized themselves with the Internal Affairs directorate of the Moscow gorispolkom and with the work experience of the Moscow militia in ensuring public order in the city.

Supreme Court Views Libel Law, Prisons

PM0903145589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Mar 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "At the USSR Supreme Court"]

[Text] A routine USSR Supreme Court plenum has been held, chaired by V.I. Terebilov.

On the basis of a report from P.Ya. Trubnikov, member of the USSR Supreme Court, the plenum examined the question of the practical judicial application of Article 7 of the USSR and union republic Fundamentals of Civil Legislation, whereby citizens and organizations have a right to demand that statements defamatory to their honor and dignity be refuted by court action.

In connection with questions that arise in judicial practice, the plenum explained that the publication of defamatory statements vilifying a citizen's honor and dignity must be understood to include not only the publication of such statements in the press and their broadcast on radio, television, and in the other mass media, but also their use in official reports, public articles, and statements addressed to officials, or their communication in any other form, including verbally, to an indeterminate number of people or even to just one person.

Statements that belittle the honor and dignity of a citizen or an organization in the public view or in the view of individual citizens from the viewpoint of the observance of the laws and rules of socialist society and the principles of communist morality are also defamatory. This applies, in particular, to statements regarding dishonest actions or unfitting behavior in the labor collective, in the family, and so on that do not accord with reality. At the same time demands for the rebuttal of statements containing realistic criticism of shortcomings in work or of behavior in a public place, home life, or the collective cannot be considered justified.

The person involved has the right to a judicial defense of his honor and dignity if defamatory statements have been published about a dead member of his family or another relative.

Demands for the rebuttal of statements in judicial sentences and decisions, in investigative organs' resolutions, and also in other official documents where the law envisages a different appeal procedure cannot be examined within the procedure envisaged by Article 7 of the Fundamentals of Civil Legislation.

When an individual who has published defamatory matter against another person shows signs of criminal actions (criminal insult or slander), the injured person has the right to petition the court to institute criminal proceedings against the malefactor or bring an action in defense of his honor and dignity under civil judicial proceedings.

When an action is brought to refute statements published in the press or via other mass media (radio, television, and so on) the author and the appropriate mass media organ (editorial office, publishing house, and so on) are summoned as defendants and are also made responsible by the court for publishing a refutation of the defamatory statements against the plaintiff. When such statements are published anonymously (for instance, in an editorial article) the relevant mass media organ is the defendant.

The defendant is obliged to prove that the statements published correspond with reality. The plaintiff only has to prove that defamatory statements were published against him, and he also has the right to prove their lack of correspondence with reality.

There is no time limit on requests for defamatory statements to be refuted.

When redressing the action, the court must indicate in its verdict how the defamatory statements are to be refuted (press or radio announcement, change in the documents containing the defamatory statements, and so on) and, where necessary, decide the text of the rebuttal and the period in which it must follow.

When a verdict refuting a defamatory statement against the honor and dignity of a plaintiff is not executed or is executed in an inappropriate manner, the court is entitled to impose a fine on the lawbreaker, payable to the state. Payment of the fine does not relieve the lawbreaker of his obligation to fulfill the decision refuting the defamatory statements against the plaintiff.

On the basis of a report from R.G. Tikhomirnov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Court Criminal Cases Judicial Collegium, judicial practice with regard to crimes committed in correctional labor establishments was discussed.

The main report and the speeches pointed out that the crime rate in places of confinement is arousing serious concern. There has been an increase in the proportion of the most dangerous lawbreakers, who are characterized by persistent antisocial tendencies, aggressiveness, and a desire to lead a parasitic way of life at the expense of other prisoners. However, this fact is not always taken into consideration by the administration of many correctional labor establishments. Lapses in the regime are permitted allowing money, hard liquor, narcotics, knives, and other prohibited objects to infiltrate correctional labor establishments. Alongside this, cases have been recorded of correctional labor establishment administrations' making unwarranted use of extreme disciplinary penalities and allowing substantial shortcomings in prisoners' labor organization, social structure, and medical and sanitary provisions.

There are also serious shortcomings in the activity of court examinations of cases in the aforementioned categories, and the resolution adopted by the plenum assessed these in a principled fashion.

The plenum instructed courts to take steps to boost the standard of administration of justice in cases of crimes committed by both prisoners and also by workers at correctional labor establishments, rigorously fulfill all the demands of the criminal and criminal procedure legislation, fully and comprehensively investigate the circumstances of every crime, and ensure a prisoner's right to a defense. When an indicted prisoner refuses to take part in a defense attorney's case, the possibility that this is a forced refusal must be investigated.

When examining cases of deliberate disobedience of the administration's demands and other crimes there should be checks to see that this has not been caused by limitation of prisoners' rights or distortions in disciplinary practice.

Courts' entire activity should help galvanize the work of supervisory commissions, bearing in mind that they are given the crucial tasks of effecting permanent public control of correctional labor establishments. With this in view courts have been instructed to notify supervisory commissions of impending judicial trials of urgent cases and send them copies of interlocutory orders on negative phenomena in the work of correctional labor establishments; and steadfastly observe the demands of the law regarding the mandatory notification of supervisory commissions of the time and place of the examination of prisoners' applications for parole.

On the basis of a report from L.V. Chistyakova, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the practice of courts' application of legislation on cases linked with fires was discussed.

The resolution adopted by the plenum pointed out that there are also substantial shortcomings in courts' activity in examining cases of fire. All courts do not react sharply to incomplete and one-sided preliminary investigations and, particularly, to cases of failure to expose and institute criminal proceedings against everyone who has committed a crime, and courts do not pay the requisite attention to uncovering the causes and conditions that enabled the aforementioned crimes to be committed and take steps to eliminate them.

The plenum explained that if the arson causes serious bodily injury or death, the articles of the law that envisages responsibility for murder or intentional bodily injury should provide additional determination for the actions of a culprit who foresaw or supposed that these consequences could occur.

The courts were instructed to establish the scale of the material damage caused by a fire in every case and take steps to ensure that the culprits pay the damage. If no civil proceedings for damages are instituted in a case of a fire, the court should resolve the question of damages on its own initiative.

A civil damages case seeking compensation for the death of people who perished in the fire may be brought by citizens who are entitled to redress in connection with the loss of a breadwinner, the heirs of the dead person if his property was destroyed or damaged in the fire, and also people who have incurred funeral expenses.

The courts' attention was drawn to the need to boost the precautionary significance of judicial processes for cases of fire to ensure that the examination of these cases helps ensure citizens' and officials' strict compliance with fire safety regulations, strengthen production and labor discipline, boost the effectiveness of measures to protect the lives and health of people, cities, and other population centers, economic facilities, the USSR's environment and natural resources, and state, public, and personal property against fire.

The plenum also examined appeals from the chairman of the USSR Supreme Court and the USSR prosecutor general on judicial cases, notably with regard to a number of people subjected to unwarranted repressions in the thirties and fifties.

USSR Prosecutor General A.Ya. Sukharev and V.T. Gubarev, USSR deputy justice minister, took part in the work of the plenum.

'Public Council' Monitors Policing Regulations

PM0303123189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Mar 89 Second Edition p 8

[TASS correspondent V. Itkin report under the general heading: "What Was and Shall Be? In A Single Paragraph"]

[Text] Henceforth, TASS correspondent V. Itkin reports specially for PRAVDA, no important statute concerning the activity of the militia or other USSR MVD subunits will be adopted without the approval of a public council. This representative consultative organ that has been set up for the first time within the ministry incorporates 111 people. They include union and autonomous republics' internal affairs ministers, leaders of a number of kray, oblast, rayon, and municipal directorates and departments, and also officers and ordinary staffers from all internal affairs organ services. The council also includes scientists, writers, and journalists. The first session of the council has been held, at which important documents—draft concepts for restructuring internal affairs organs and improving the normatives regulating their activity—were discussed.

LITERATURNAYA GAZETA Readers Conference Shown

LD0403183989

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service at 0810 GMT on 4 March broadcasts a 75-minute recorded program of "LITERATURNAYA GAZETA: All-Union Readers Conference". The conference was held at the Moscow State University in December 1988. Yuriy Izyumov, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA's deputy editor-in-chief, chaired the conference. Participating in the program were Svetlana Selivanova, editor of the literary studies section, and Georgiy Mikhaylovich Tselms, a correspondent for the paper. Gennadiy Bocharov and Alla Latynina were part of a group of "observers" who sat beside Izyumov on the platform. The newspaper staff commented on letters from readers and listened to contributions from the audience during the program.

Following the opening preliminaries, Izyumov announces the first topic: censorship in the paper. Gennadiy Bocharov, part of the large group of observers, replied: "The department censorship that has flourished all these years in literally double-dyed colors is now very severely restricted in its powers; very severely. You can understand the absurdity of a situation in which a journalist who is preparing critical material of some sort was compelled, in recent decades, to necessarily clear the material with the department he was criticizing. From that department, there absolutely had to be a person who held the position of collegium member at the very least, and only his signature could authorize the publication of the material and its passage through the Glavlit [Main Administration for Safeguarding State Secrets in the Press] representative in the relevant editorial office.

"Nowadays—I repeat—these departmental aspirations, as it were, and, in general, powers, have been very severely pruned, although there are undoubtedly departments that will still make use of such powers. And military departments will, no doubt, always use them. Nevertheless, if it is a question of real state or military secrets—and they have existed, and still do, for as long as our world has been the way it is—it will continue to exist."

Izyumov concludes this subject with: "The only thing I can add is that, in practice, over the past 2 years, the censorship has not interfered with the newspaper's work at all, apart from those cases where it is obliged to interfere, when it was a question of divulging some state or, let's say, economic secret that ought not to be made public."

Svetlana Selivanova, editor of the literary studies section, then fields a question about whether Gorkiy is overrated as a writer in the USSR and whether the socialist realism that he promoted is responsible for the deaths of numerous talented writers. She replies that Soviet readers need more biographical and autobiographical material, much of which is available in the West, in order to be able to make a realistic judgment about Gorkiy's talent. As for the guilt of socialist realism, she says that it alone cannot be blamed; other factors are responsible for the tragedy that cut short so many lives. In any case, intellectuals had been hounded in Russia and the USSR before the proclamation of socialist realism. She cited 1922 as being the year in which large numbers of writers and philosophers went into exile.

Izyumov then calls on Georgiy Mikhaylovich Tselms, one of the paper's own correspondents, to respond to some of the many letters about what is happening in the Baltic republics, particularly in Latvia. Tselms says: "What do I think of the People's Front and, I suppose, of what's going on today in the Baltic area, because the People's Front is, to some extent, a symbol of what's taking place in the Baltic area? To put it briefly, I'm in favor." "The question becomes more precise further on: Does the front have a future? It certainly has, at least in the near future, it seems to me. It's not ruled out that, at some time, it might start to break up or change its shape, but today it is a very substantial political force. In Latvia, it has 250,000 members, not formal members in the sense that...[changes thought] but active members. In general, it can be said that the People's Front today largely expresses the interests of the people, the people's point of view. That does not mean there are no exaggerations. That reminds me, when I flew in from Riga today, the first thing I was told in Moscow was a joke about a man going into a shop and asking for a globe of the Estonian SSR...[pause; no laughter audible]. Well, if that is a joke, I am prepared to have a laugh with the person telling it. But when, behind the joke, there really is a standpoint, a suspicion that federalism, secession is going on up there, my sense of humor just evaporates, because, on the whole, a process of restructuring is, in general, taking place. It is proceeding painfully, because it is moving fast. Restructuring made no headway at all in our area during the first few years, and that gave rise to the popular movement, which has made us get a move on. The party apparat has been extensively renewed. Leaders have emerged who can talk to people and are ready for a dialogue. In general, changes have started that are, on the whole, beneficial. There is, I repeat, a lot of froth.

"Today, the Russian population feels somewhat ill at ease, because we are all lacking in the art of politics: we have not got enough ability to hear and respect one another. That must be learned, and it can only be learned through action. It seems to me that the learning process is under way. So the idea that a Russian will not be given any bread there, or that he will be beaten up in the street, has absolutely no connection, as it were, with reality. The fact that today, on a day-to-day level, many Latvians have suddenly, in the course of a single day, forgotten how to speak Russian, is really a different matter. This can be felt, but, bearing in mind that most Russian-speakers do not know a word of Latvian, it is an understandable reaction. It is not terribly polite, but it does exist nevertheless. Even among my friends I have come across such fears. Can we come to visit you? Will people there make us feel awkward? And so on.

"I will end with one brief point. If there is any interest, I will talk in greater detail about the essence of the People's Front's activities, if that is not known. Finally, I want to invite everyone to come to Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia—the processes are the same, slightly more or slightly less—by train, by plane, or on foot, but not, as it were, in tanks."

Izyumov then outlines the newspaper's history, and then an unidentified young man in the audience comments: "I say that our press is very fond of writing about the lives of people who are no longer in this world, such as Stalin, Brezhnev, and Khrushchev. My question is as follows: Will your paper, in the near future, give political portraits of our leaders, specifically Gorbachev, Ligachev, Yeltsin, and so on? [applause]"

Izyumov replies: "A good question! [laughter] I want to say that I have got a few other notes here, which are similar, although phrased in a more—how shall I put it—extremist manner. For example: When will it be possible to read critical comments in our press about our leading officials, members of the Politburo?" Izyumov pauses. "All those sitting in this hall know perfectly well how difficult that question is. [laughter] And I would not want to play the fool in front of you. [laughter] I do not think you need it either. I want to say that the material described by the comrade in front of the microphone concerns us a great deal, too, and it features in the plans of our editorial office. In our editorial meetings, in arguments, and in the post, we constantly come up against the question. Why is it that you have a political portrait of Margaret Thatcher, yet we know nothing about the people who govern us? It is, of course, absolutely abnormal. It is a different point that it is not, perhaps, for the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA to start the process off. Perhaps.... [laughter and applause]

"Shortly, as you know, from the New Year onwards, the PROCEEDINGS OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE will appear [laughter and applause]; one of the functions of which will be to write about current party functionaries. But that is not to say that we will not do the same. It really is a difficult and complicated matter, and we are thinking about it. We take as our starting point the decision of the 19th party conference which states that the appointment of officials must be made publicly."

Following contributions about the role of the scientific intelligentsia and the need for more attention to be given to the literatures of the Soviet nationalities, a uniformed military academy student from the audience says: "I want to ask a question about the Baltic area. Probably, the Baltic correspondent will answer." "As far as I know, the People's or National Front in socialist countries was created on the wave of the liberation struggle. On what wave was the People's Front created in Latvia and the other Baltic republics? Was it not on a wave of nationalism? I do not know whether it is a question for you, or maybe someone in the presidium has had legal training...." "In his well-known 'On Twofold Subordination to Legality' [as heard], Lenin says that there cannot be a law for Ryazan and a law for Kazan. Is it not Ryazan-Kazan legality when, in Moscow, the militia sometimes makes unauthorized use of truncheons when dispersing various demonstrators who are saying exactly the same thing as people in the Baltic area, where they are not dispersed? And, in reply to your—Georgiy—invitation, I want to say thank you very much and to assure you that, among those you had in mind when talking about tanks, there are also thinking people who will not go in tanks just like that! [applause]"

Georgiy Tselms replies that the People's Front is for all the people, regardless of their nationality, although as yet the indigenous population predominates in each one. He goes on to describe the plight of a people that is becoming a minority in its own country, with its language falling into disuse. Defending such culture through unity on an ethnic basis is good, he says. In general, he agrees that there should be one law for everyone, but says that 'nuances' are needed locally, owing to the different republics' situation and standards of living.

Observer Alla Latynina thinks that the Russian nationalist Pamyat movement should be allowed to present its views in the press so that a public discussion can take place. As she puts it: "I cannot embark on a discussion with a person who has been gagged."

Winding up the serious part of the program before a sequence of jokes and songs, Izyumov says: "There are questions which none of us can, unfortunately, answer. For example: Will Khrushchev's report to the 20th congress be published? None of the people around this table can answer that question. Excuse me, but I will not even read out a question of that sort."

Contents of KOMMUNIST No 4 Reported

PM0303132189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Mar 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Latest Issue of Journal"]

[Text] The fourth issue of the CPSU Central Committee's theoretical and political journal KOMMUNIST has been published. It opens with an item entitled "Heading Restructuring, Generating the Energy of Renewal." G.P. Razumovskiy, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, answers the journal's questions. The conversation analyzes the results of the report and election campaign in party organizations.

The articles "Agro-Industrial Complex: Problems Old and New" by V. Miloserdov, and "State of Society. Social Regulator. Man" by A. Vishnevskiy are carried under the rubric "Restructuring: Theory and Experience."

Two items are carried under the rubric "Toward a New Face of Socialism." They are the article by G. Arbatov and E. Batalov entitled "Political Reform and the Evolution of the Soviet State" and a report on the session of the international roundtable "Contradictions and Motive Forces of Socialist Society."

The importance of the women's question and ways of resolving it are considered by N. Zakharova, A. Posadskaya, and N. Rimashevskaya in the article "How We Are Resolving the Women's Question," which is carried under the rubric "Social Protection."

The rubric "Public Opinion" carries items from the readers' mailbag. The section "Correspondence With Readers" features a letter to the journal from M. Antonov and the editorial office's reply.

The rubric "Debates and Discussions" presents a letter from Willy Gerns [name as transliterated] and Robert Steigerwald, members of the German Communist Party, entitled "The Democratic Alternative and the Antimonopolist Strategy." Ya. Rebane's article "Building Rational Relations Together" is carried under the subrubric "Toward the CPSU Central Committee Plenum on Improving Interethnic Relations in the USSR."

G. Medvedev, the well known documentary and current affairs writer and a specialist in nuclear technology, publishes his thoughts under the title "Incompetence" under the rubric "Science and Education." Considering nuclear power to be the outstanding achievement of the human intellect and an example of "high technology," the writer convincingly shows that this "summit" requires a correspondingly high level of culture and moral criteria in the life and work of everyone who is in contact in one way or another with the very latest equipment and who ensures its safe operation.

The rubric "The Modern World: Trends and Contradictions" features an article by Ye. Shashkov entitled "What Price Security?" and a roundup by L. Popov from the journal RINASCITA entitled "Platform of Marxist Thought of the Italian Communist Party."

Sh. Nadirov's review of Jambyn Batmonh's book "Selected Articles and Speeches" is published, as is a roundup of the journal MOLODOY KOMMUNIST.

Press Should Reflect 'Positive' Soviet Trends

PM0703153989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Mar 89 Second Edition p 3

[Yu. Makhrin roundup of readers' letters: "Restructuring and the Press. PRAVDA Readers' Reflections on This Theme"]

[Text] There have never been so many letters about journalists and journalism in the PRAVDA mailbag as now. Letters expressing both joy and alarm. People are unanimous: Since April 1985 the mass media have done a great deal to restore historical truth and justice, critize shortcomings, and analyze their causes and ways of overcoming negative phenomena. Many articles have contributed to developing in readers, radio listeners, and television viewers the ability to think and act boldly, with initiative and vigor. The press has become a truly popular rostrum of democracy and glasnost, and a reliable guardian of these values.

The authors of hundreds of letters to PRAVDA note that the press is skillfully discharging its main mission—that of awakening public thought, shaping public opinion, and prompting action. "The press, radio, and television today," N. Smolkotin from Yelets writes, "is a sensitive and reliable barometer of the level of openness in society. It is no accident that the circulation of periodicals, which sell like hot cakes, has risen sharply."

Journalists are now working in full view of the Soviet people, as it were. And people give them their due for their contribution to the revolutionary renewal of all aspects of our life. The best possible conditions for a clash of opinions and a search for truth have been created on the pages of newspapers and journals, on television screens, and in ra[illegible] roadcasts.

The alarm in readers' letters is evoked by the fact that people are noting here and there that the "virus" of malevolence toward the press is spreading with extraordinary speed. Communists note regretfully in their letters that in the course of the recent report-and-election meetings, massed attacks on glasnost were mounted in certain party organizations. At the oblast party conferences in Omsk, Chelyabinsk, and Petrozavodsk, for instance. Essentially the attacks were on the lines of: It is necessary to take the journalists in hand, to check them, to show them their place.... The unfounded criticism leveled at publicists "bore its fruit" during the secret ballot: Several newspaper editors and secretaries for ideology we simply "sent packing." People are writing with pain about cases of "democratic" reprisals of this kind against people who, fulfilling the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, the 19th all-union party conference, and Central Committee plenums, have boldly tackled complex and in many respects new issues.

But there are examples of a different kind, too. During the current election campaign several dozen journalists, true pioneers of restructuring, have been nominated as candidate people's deputies. Is this not proof of a general recognition of the difficult work of publicists, whose words play an active part in effecting the positive changes in the country?!

Paying tribute to the critical thrust of the press, many readers ponder the effectiveness of such a powerful weapon as the "typographic barbs"—to use Pushkin's words. R. Ass, an engineer from Leningrad, writes: "..In 1985-1986 it was the CPSU Central Committee, and the central committees of union republic communist parties, kraykoms, and obkoms, that spoke out in support of newspapers by adopting special resolutions. Of late there have been no such documents. And another observation. It is true that there are more critical articles now, yet the rubric 'In Response to Our Articles' is thinner than ever. The 'heroes' of these articles, it seems, have gotten used to criticism and no longer react to it; indeed, they do not even reply to the central organ—the CPSU Central Committee. And so it seems that the 'darts' hit the 'white' rather than the 'bull's-eye.'

Cases of suppression of criticism and even reprisals for criticism still persist. V. Sukhanov, a teacher at an agricultural technical college in Rostov, Yaroslavl Oblast, sent us two cuttings from the local newspaper PUT K KOMMUNIZMU. In one of them N. Kraynova, a deputy of the local city soviet, writes that V. Korolev, chairman of the rayispolkom, built his own garage onto some state garages, and what is more, in the city center. "How is this possible? We deputies are trying to move garages as far as possible from residential zones, leaving intact only those that belong to disabled people, and here.... Does having power mean total license?" The second cutting is the announcement of a decision by the CPSU Gorkom Bureau: "A trend toward publishing 'spicy' items is discernible on the pages of the newspaper. The editor must be severely reprimanded." The reader is right: The item has indeed been "spiced up"—not by the newspaper, however, but rather at the party gorkom. Putting glasnost in the dock is like putting a doctor in the dock for correctly diagnosing a serious illness.

There are uncommon numbers of letters in the editorial mailbag about newspapers and television and radio broadcasts. People take pride in the MAGNITOGORSKIY RABOCHIY or the VECHERNYAYA ODESSA: "Our newspaper is boldly marching into battle!" And they are outraged if a local press organ is timid or accommodating.

It is well-known fact: The newspaper reflects the image of the party committee. "Unfortunately, sometimes it merely reflects the image of the first secretary and nothing else," a group of students from the Saratov party evening school write. Further, they give the gist of the blunt remarks made by B. Doroshenko, who was recently elected first secretary of Engels Gorkom. He swooped down on the city newspaper, claiming that it was publishing articles without consulting him first and that it high-handedly reprinted critical articles about life in the city from the oblast party newspaper. "I will not tolerate this!" "I have demanded," "I have said..." this is how the "first" secretary enlightened the students. Well, it is precisely this inflated view of party leadership of the press which is the cause of incidents where even now there are delays in newspapers going to print because somebody is objecting to something in an edition. Stifling glasnost is the only way to describe such undemocratic steps. Party committees and their press organs have a common cause, and for this cause to advance smoothly unity, rather than confrontation, is needed.

At the same time readers are also writing in about press workers' high sense of responsibility. They are displeased if they come up against journalists telling lies. They are alarmed at the stridency, sensationalism, and destructive thrust of certain articles, at attempts to whip up tension, at the tendency of certain authors to lecture everyone, to elevate themselves above society, as it were. If certain people believe that a pluralism of opinions means that people are exempted from responsibility, M.S. Gorbachev noted at the meeting with representatives of science and culture at the CPSU Central Committee in January, then we must tell them outright: More democracy always means greater responsibility; more rights always mean more obligations as well.

Pluralism of opinions is by no means a one-way street. However, certain publications have their own view of this. Editors are generous with space for articles whose authors' views they share. And with respect to people who think differently, they act on the principle that they are best kept at arm's length. If an opponent should nonetheless make it into print, he will not escape public censure. And the accusatory labels pinned on him will be the most insulting that can be found.

Glasnost is making greater demands on journalists. It is above all a question of enhancing their professional competence and analytical powers, of ensuring honest rather than unscrupulous handling of facts and arguments. The press has not been able to avoid superficiality, distortion of facts, cliquishness, and encroachments on people's dignity. This it what has evoked suspicion of the press and criticism of its free and easy ways and ambitions. A Press Law is in preparation, but no law can replace the journalists' civic, party-minded, and moral stance.

Glasnost does not just mean "highlighting" negative trends, it means above all depicting everything that is positive in our life and our great creative effort. An obvious "warp" has occurred in the press. Some pressmen vividly reveal shortcomings, they expose, and they brand negative phenomena. Yet at the same time they write dull, stereotyped, and unconvincing reports about positive achievements and long-awaited changes. Sketches about people, workers and peasants, who by their labor strengthen the country, have disappeared. One of the correspondents' most important tasks is to learn to write interesting reports about positive developments.

Many PRAVDA readers are expressing concern at the fact that unjustifiably long articles about drug addicts, prostitution, accidents, and crime stories have replaced no less important topics in the newspapers which cover whole strata of life. Muscovite V. Toropov takes the following view: "Judging by appearances, articles along the lines of V.I. Lenin's 'The Significance of Militant Materialism' should be entered in the Book of Endangered Species." On the other hand, certain newspaper, radio, and television journalists are openly playing into the hands of the church. This observation is correct. The atheist thrust of the press has sharply weakened. It needs to be boosted, and the scientific materialist world outlook consolidated.

Under the new political conditions the party's interest in a strong and bold press is even greater. It is the press which has played and continues to play the role of a strike force of restructuring. It awakens public consciousness, destroys the bastions of dogmatism and conservatism, dispels social alienation and apathy, and enriches spiritual life and makes it more interesting. Here journalists cannot manage without party assistance and support.

Deputy Minister Views AIDS Outbreak

PM1003104589 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 8, 19 Feb 89 p 13

[Interview with A.I. Kondrusev, USSR deputy minister of health and USSR chief sanitary physician, by correspondent Yevgeniya Albats in Moscow: "Beware"; date not specified]]

[Text] The world has been struck by tragic news: 27 babies in a hospital in Elista, Kalmykia, have been infected with the AIDS virus. Eighty out of every hundred people who have the AIDS virus in their blood usually fall ill.

We have long been reassured: There is but one AIDS case in the Soviet Union. They had thousands, we had one. One year—one, two, four years—one.... Then all of a sudden it turns out that Olga K., who died in Leningrad, was ill with AIDS. But how many more of these "all of a sudden" have not yet been detected? A year ago in the lobbies of different conferences specialists warned ("only this is not for the press"—sic!): By the close of 1989 we shall have the first thousand cases. We were scared ("only not for the press"—sic!): "In the USSR (I quote) the infection is spreading uncontrollably. In the USA the epidemic also started with two cases in 1981 and arrived at the first thousand patients already by February 1983...."

We have long allowed ourselves to be reassured: "prostitutes, drug addicts, homosexuals—these are the risk groups", "marital fidelity backed by the dependable condom—this is the guarantee of health". All this is quite correct. Only...our children have found themselves in the risk group—I shall repeat this as many times as I'll have to write on this subject, because I am convinced: the cause of the tragedy is the low sanitary-hygienic state of our hospitals, maternity homes and clinics.

We can lament endlessly that industry is incapable of producing the necessary quantity of disposable syringes—there will be two billion of them only by the end (!) of the five-year period. We can say endlessly that we are about to organize the production of our own means of diagnosis and to exercise full control over donors and rule out the possibility of infection being passed on by donor blood—six such cases has been identified by April 1988, according to the Institute of Epidemiology. We can keep telling the country on TV what marvellous—despite separate shortcomings—maternity hospitals we have. We can say anything. Only, this should not be allowed to go on.

The temporary odds, given us while the disease was gaining momentum in the West and only crawling towards us, have been used up—and used up badly, we must admit.

Its Root Causes

This was the kind of mood I took to the USSR Ministry of Public Health: A.I. Kondrusev, Deputy Minister of Public Health of the USSR and Chief Sanitary Physician of the USSR, consented to an interview with an MN correspondent:

[Albats] Aleksandr Ivanovich, what was the root cause of the tragedy in Elista?

[Kondrusev] Here I have a chart in front of me—the result of our commission's work. Blue little squares mark the children infected with the AIDS virus—a total of 27....

[Albats]...half of whom, according to the findings of world statistics, are doomed....

[Kondrusev] Regrettably, not half: the latest findings indicate that out of every hundred people whose blood has been infected with the AIDS virus, 80 fall ill. The blue rings denote the mothers carrying the virus—there are six such mothers. The children of four of them have already died.

[Albats] This means that, out of 27 children, four are already....

[Kondrusev] No, the four died earlier, that is, before November 1988, when they first started suspecting that all was not well in Elista.

[Albats] Did they die from AIDS?

[Kondrusev] This is not excluded, but it is no longer possible to establish this.

The results of the autopsy, recorded in their case histories, have shown that each had severe anamnesis. In short, in December 1988, the Central Laboratory in Moscow confirmed date from Kalmykia, that two separate people—a woman and a child—were virus carriers. The case was unprecedented, for the city was small. It turned out that the woman had contacted the children's hospital with a proposal to donate her blood, and, as a future donor—I would like to emphasize that she was made to give a blood sample to be tested for the AIDS virus. They started examining her record and found out that she had been hospitalized in the children's hospital, where her child died in 1988. Another mother and child were in the same ward with them. It was in him that the AIDS virus was found. Then antibodies were identified in another three children. It became clear that one chain started from her. But how did she get the virus? The tangle unwound and led to one family: in 1981 the husband worked in the Congo, fell ill and was treated there and became infected after a blood transfusion. He infected his wife and their child who died in April 1988—in the same children's hospital. This is where we start our count-down.

[Albats] And what was it that helped the virus move: after all there was no contact between these women?

[Kondrusev] This is a very intricate question. We analyzed all case histories, prescriptions, which team of nurses gave them.... Well, and one young mother said that a nurse had come to give children injections. She had seven needles and one syringe, that is, she changed the needles but used the same syringe.

[Albats] And 20 infectious doses can remain in the syringe channel, unless it has been sterilized. Without sterilization the syringe is still dangerous.

[Kondrusev] Yes. Today we no longer have any grounds to deny this.

[Albats] And it is not yet clear how many children and mothers in all have been infected in the hospital in this way, is it?

[Kondrusev] We have already examined 12,000 people, out of which 8,000 were children. According to the latest data, positive reaction, as we call it, has been identified in the case of another seven children. But this is a primary result, which calls for more than one check-up.

[Albats] There has been a rumour—from your department—that Swedish scientists jointly with ours have suggested that the virus in Elista can also be passed on via the saliva. On the one hand, world practice denies this. On the other, if the supposition is really based on serious grounds, this will impart even more tragic colouring to the AIDS problem—the possibility of the virus being transferred through social contact.

[Kondrusev] But something is not quite right. For us it is still unclear how the mothers were infected. According to preliminary estimates, they were given no injections or blood transfusions. So, couldn't a sick child, with a minor mouth injury, convey the virus to its mother through a crack in the papilla? But this is the most preliminary explanation. On agreement with WHO, we shall invite a highly qualified expert to study this hypothesis with us.

[Albats] Can you guarantee that donor blood was not the reason for the AIDS infection in Elista?

[Kondrusev] Yes, I can. This is completely ruled out. As of today, we have examined all the donors and blood preparations.

And How to Save Yourself?

[Albats] Well, even if this is not encouraging, then.... Ivanovich, Aleksandr you understand, of course, that the horrible incident in Elista has opened up what I see as a new and tragic page in the AIDS problem in the country. Polyclinics, hospitals, kindergartens, creches and maternity hospitals—all of these are now a source of enhanced, if not mortal, danger. Who will give me the guarantee that some "little nurse" will not forget to boil the syringe? Who will insure my child against a dirty syringe during the most trivial inocculation?

[Kondrusev] Now the horror of a young mother is crying in your face.

[Albats] Yes, of course. But also some knowledge of the subject: our country ranks 35th in the world in terms of the protection it provides against hepatitis - which is indicative of the level of sanitary hygiene.

[Kondrusev] I must say that, according to the documents concerning sterilizing of instruments, we have defined everything with a sufficient degree of accuracy with more emphasis—especially after what happened to Olga K. of

Leningrad. It is next to impossible to create a foolproof system in the country. Yet it is possible to build a system which would guarantee a high measure of safety. The first thing we need for this is to have disposable systems and disposable syringes. There is no denying that irresponsibility is horrible in any sphere of activity, but especially in medicine. The same head of the children's hospital in Elista was fined by the sanitary and epidemiological station on 13 occasions, I believe, during the year. There was an outbreak of hepatitis and salmonellosis in the hospital. As many as 123 children died there during the last year alone.

[Albats] And such things are happening not only in Elista, although these disgraceful practices probably reached their peak in Elista.

[Kondrusev] Indeed, the level of asepsis and antisepsis is low at some medical institutions. That is why I am saying that enhancing the responsibility of medical personnel is one orientation in our work for AIDS prevention. Another area is examining all expectant mothers (an order to this effect has recently been issued) and all those admitted for treatment at in-patient hospitals for AIDS—in this way we shall prevent the infection being brought into hospitals.

[Albats] Can you assert with full responsibility that, given this level of sanitary hygiene, our country has only 146 virus carriers and not ten times more?

[Kondrusev] I would like you to understand that AIDS is not only a problem for the USSR Ministry of Public Health—the Ministry has been doing a lot. But when we speak about responsibility, we should bear in mind not only physicians and nurses, but also industry which has, for instance, promised to supply us this year with 850 spectrophotometers—instruments for studying the virus (this would have solved the problem of deploying diagnosis laboratories in the country)—but supplied only 100 in working condition. Enterprises cannot organize the production of disposable syringes in a sufficient quantity.

[Albats] But who should press for all this if not the Ministry of Public Health? Or should I, a rank-and-file citizen, go and "assail" their directors? But if you tell me "go" I shall go. This is a matter of life and death for our children. We had our first AIDS patient four years ago, but even now, in 1989, we are still speaking about deploying diagnosis laboratories. Haven't we been dilly-dallying too long? Incidentally, would you please divulge the secret about how much is being spent in our country today on preventive measures and the struggle against AIDS? I know—in specific figures—how much is being spent by the USA, or by France, West Germany and the World Health Organization. I don't know how much the USSR spends.

[Kondrusev] There is a scientific programme on AIDS. More, currency and Soviet roubles are being earmarked annually to finance it.

[Albats] What percentage does this make of the country's budget or the health budget?

[Kondrusev] If we are to speak about research programmes these finances add up to less than 1 per cent of the overall spending on medical science. As regards spending on practical health care, the sum is considerably larger.

[Albats] What is it?

[kondrusev] Let us count. We have carried out 21.5 million examinations for AIDS, the cost of each is being 80 kopeks. We have purchased 380 instruments for hard currency - those same spectrophotometers, production of which our industry still cannot organize. Each of these instruments cost us 15,000 on the average. In short, we have money, but only Soviet roubles—we are not being denied anything. If industry today could offer us two billion syringes, we would buy them at once. But it does not offer.

[Albats] And my last question. Who coordinates AIDS programmes in our country?

[Kondrusev] The Ministry of Public Health is the contractor.

[Albats] Don't you find that, considering the seriousness of the situation, there must be some interdepartmental coordinating centre to rule out situations where control over the problem is exercised by the organizations personally responsible for it? [interview ends]

I recorded this conversation on tape and reproduced it accurately enough, deleting only tedious passages and repetitions.

Thus, there is every indication that the Ministry of Public Health still prefers to wait till industry starts rolling. But isn't its docility at our expense? So far, an Association for Combatting AIDS has been set up and an account opened at the Zhilsotsbank (Housing and Social Bank) for personal donations. Finally, on the TV programme View, we heard an appeal addressed to all state enterprises and cooperatives: whoever can undertake the manufacture of disposable syringes, please respond.

I am not a medic and I am not going to issue recommendations to specialists. But common sense prompts me to say that if the health care system is incapable of insuring our children against AIDS, we must grant the population the possibility of defending itself. For this purpose, we must first and foremost have cancelled the order of the USSR Ministry of Public Health prohibiting the sale of ordinary syringes without prescriptions at drugstores, and make them freely available at every home (with the corresponding instructions on how to sterilize them) where there are small children. Their mothers should have the right to demand that injections for children be made only with personal syringes at any children's medical institution—whether a polyclinic or a hospital.

Common sense also prompts the following: regardless of all the known difficulties with foreign currency, we must find a way now, not by the end of the five-year period, of providing all children's medical institutions, including maternity homes, with disposable syringes and disposable blood transfusion apparatus. After all, infected children today are a sick country tomorrow.

Civil Aviation Pilots' Association Founded

PM0303165789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 6

[I. Dementyeva, E. Maksimova article "Gaining Height. Why a Civil Aviation Pilots' Association Has Been Formed"]

[Text] How many pilots does the Aeroflot have? One in ten employees. We heard this figure at the constituent conference at which 480 delegates from 338 aviation subdivisions from Magadan to the Baltics had gathered last Saturday to establish their association. Representatives of this one-tenth who take us up into the skies are themselves tied to the skies. This bond is not a figure of speech; it is a problem. A problem of flight safety and skill improvement. The skies are an abnormal place for man to work and live in, a place that is unlike anywhere else. A pilot who is forced to quit his work in the skies loses his profession. He loses everything.... This is a problem affecting tens of thousands of 40- to 45-year-old pensioners who are left without qualifications for any other job, and 60- to 70-year-olds whose links with aviation have been severed long ago.

In the answers to the questionnaires that were distributed at the conference these problems look like this. Some 75 percent of those present rated the stress involved in flying as "very high"; 87 percent answered the question as to whether their professional rights and interests were being infringed with "very considerably"; 84 percent are convinced that it is possible to create conditions to extend pilots' flying careers; 87 percent believe that it is necessary to publish statistics on the sickness rate and life expectancy among civil aviation workers; 91 percent confirmed a decline in the profession's prestige.

A. Malinovskiy, a pilot from Domodedovo, who delivered the report, opened with the most burning problem which concerns us all—air accidents. They are in the forefront of the sector's unresolved tasks.

Way back, during training sessions, we were shown posters about flight safety, both Soviet and foreign ones, including analyses of the causes of air accidents. In our country two-thirds of the accidents are said to be connected with indiscipline on the part of flight personnel. This sort of explanation does not exist in Western analyses—they refer to the "human factor." Average flight safety, ours and theirs, is about the same. If our equipment and technology to date is weaker—the "earth" is a weak spot in general—does this mean that our pilots are more skilled? So how do you account for the two-thirds who "violate" discipline? This is Aeroflot's presumption of guilt in action; this is the impasse from which there is no way toward an investigation of the true causes of accidents. We are driving the problem inward. And Vladimir Gerasimov, deputy chief of the USSR State Aviation Inspection Administration, for instance, who was bold enough to mention it openly in the press ("Test in the Skies," IZVESTIYA No 5 1988—editorial note), soon became former deputy chief. As you can see, the bureaucratic-edict millstones crush not only the small fry but even the sharks if they stop talking like sharks. We are a means of transport with a heightened danger and responsibility factor. Meanwhile the standard of competitive entrance examinations at aviation colleges is declining and, unless we see to it, we will not be selecting pilots but taking anyone we can get. People of mediocre abilities will be taking decisions in the air—decisions on which the lives of 400-500 people depend....

We the press, including IZVESTIYA, started to draw attention to this unhealthy state of the sector and the pilots' lack of rights some 5 years ago. Now the pilots are taking their destiny into their own hands.

For 2 days passions boiled in the conference hall of the "ministry of closed doors"—this is how one central newspaper described it (you cannot gain admission even with a pilot's license!), and the microphones had no time to cool down.

The delegates had their misgivings: Care must be taken not to become dependent on the administration, not to fall prey to bureaucracy. It took an hour to agree on two words in the first paragraph of the statutes. The definition of the association as "a voluntary initiative" association proved insufficient. Finally they agreed on "autonomous" association "independent of the department." Much noise was made about structure, about ensuring that there no are superfluous links between the "grassroots" and the "top." They agreed on a two-tier system—the aircrew membership and the association's presidium. But even after that a delegate from Saratov asked: Are we not setting up just another official body with our own money?

Incidentally, about money. They argued, voted, and voted again about the admission fee. A big fee would be good to get the work off the ground, but it would put off people whose wages are small. Long-haul transport line pilots and those who fly to Washington or Tokyo are one thing; the AN-2 pilots from Tula or Vologda who carry out top-dressing on fields are quite another. And it is necessary to ensure that the association is a mass organization.

They even argued about whether the president ought to be a pilot. "Only someone who is at the controls himself can understand pilots' needs."

The association's program includes many important points; from narrowly specialist ones (obligatory participation in the investigation of incidents and the drafting of normative documents; suspension of the disciplinary statutes and granting of full pensions to those unjustly punished under these statutes; secondary vocational guidance; courses for those whose flying careers have come to an end) to humanitarian ones extending beyond the profession (a charity fund for orphaned families; pension supplements from excess profits; establishment of clubs and medical rehabilitation centers). Medicine occupies one of the foremost places in these plans. It is to be transformed from an intimidating "sorter" into a guardian of health.

The suspension of the statutes and the switch to a Labor Code applicable to all citizens deserves special mention. Departmental statutes which are at variance with constitutional norms are still regulating, controlling, and often, alas, crippling the life of people in many professions. The firm intention of the pilot community to abolish the statutes, an intention which has, it seems, met with rational understanding even among the leadership of the Ministry of Civil Aviation—this is the pilots' contribution to building a rule-of-law state. Their example—they are the first to do so—will not go unnoticed.

Then the USSR Civil Aviation Aircrews' Association was voted into being, unanimously, with almost 500 votes. The meeting's chairman V. Makatsyubo said to himself, rather than to the hall:

"It's almost unbelievable, guys."

All heard it, and all understood.

Only 6 months ago an initiative group was set up. It was set up in order to introduce amendments to the new provision on pilots' pensions. Who would have thought that a partial aim would grow into a social organization program! What has been, has been: The ministry and the political directorate gave a hostile reception to the emergence of the group. The trade union Central Committee declared categorically: There will be no association! And now they are sitting in the presidium alongside the initiators as its founder-members. I am referring to the Ministry of Civil Aviation Air Service and the Aviation Workers Trade Union Central Committee. Incidentally, even today tension persists at local level. By no means all delegates came to Moscow without difficulties (in Rostov the documents of the initiative group were simply destroyed), and some people paid for the trip from their own pockets.

The unnatural confrontation between the pilots and the ministry which dates back to the years of stagnation seems to be subsiding. Both sides are beginning to talk about building bridges.

The meeting paid tribute to the persistence and selflessness of the pilots who initiated this process, who have gained respect, won several important legal battles, drafted the association's statutes, and prepared the program and the conference itself. This is an object lesson in what can be achieved by a number of broad-minded professionals with a civic stance and a businesslike approach.

Three of them have been elected as leaders of the association—three Il-62 commanders: President A. Malinovskiy, and Vice Presidents A. Kochur and V. Makatsyubo. Others are on the presidium. V. Gerasimov, Pilot First Class and author of this newspaper article, was elected chairman of the auditing commission.

And so the association has been born or, as the pilots say, the climb has been completed, cruising altitude has been reached, there is time to glance back and adjust the course.

The first application for admission to the association was submitted by K. Markosyan, an aircraft commander from the Armenian administration.

Economic

Oil Minister Dinkov Details Planned Export Cuts

LD0703233989 Moscow TASS in English 1333 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 7 TASS—The scale of Soviet oil production operations enables the Soviet Union to meet domestic demand completely, fulfil long-term delivery commitments to CEMA countries and sell oil for freely convertible currency, Soviet Oil Industry Minister Vasiliy Dinkov has told TASS.

He said that the Soviet Union produced 624.3 million tonnes of oil (together with gas condensate) last year and that "the Soviet economy's demand for it will remain high even in the year 2010."

However, "it will cost ever more to maintain high production levels, requiring considerable inputs of materials, technology, manpower and capital", the minister added.

He explained this, among other things, by the need to develop isolated areas and by the rising costs of oil extraction materials and equipment.

But despite the factors complicating oil production operations, the country cannot do without foreign currency revenues which come primarily from oil sales, Dinkov said.

The amount of these sales will be dependent on both export possibilities and market conditions, he added.

Detailing the Soviet Government's decision to reduce oil exports for freely convertible currency in the first half of 1989 by five per cent, Dinkov said that the reduction will amount to some 18 million barrels (100,000 barrels a day).

The measure will not affect agreements already in effect or long-term oil supplies to CEMA countries, the minister said.

Benefits of Lease-Contracting Examined

LD0603221689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 6 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] Lease-contracting: for and against. Over to our commentator Aleksandr Krutov.

[Krutov] Good evening. I think, you will agree with me, comrades, that we live in poor and unsettled conditions in our country, which is rich in resources and land. But what a potential we have! One of the main reasons is that people are not interested in working properly, not because they do not want to, but because they are put in such conditions where any attempt to show initiative, suggest anything new, and give up unwarranted equal distribution runs against decrees, orders, instructions, and telephone calls. Today more and more people realize that lease-contracting is one of the ways to restore the feeling of being in charge and the feeling of responsibility to the toiler. [passage omitted]

In virtually all viewers' letters people complain about how difficult it is to introduce lease-contracting, what resistance it encounters, how the administration would not give permission, how the ministry hampers it, and how the central directorate opposes it. Why? I asked this question to Pavel Grigoryevich Bunich, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

[Bunich] Ministries oppose it, that is true, and it is not an overstatement. Central directorates, those that remain, oppose it, too. In general, any higher organ opposes it, the reason is that a lease-contracting enterprise is an independent enterprise and it needs that ministry and that central directorate only as long as it really needs them. When it is unable to do certain things on its own, it will be happy to pay a contractual price to its ministry for that specific job, but the ministry as such, as an abstract idea, as several thousands of individuals who sit there, is of no use to it, and it does not want to pay to keep them.

[Krutov] Do not you think that it would be rather simplistic to regard lease-contracting as a universal panacea?

[Bunich] Given the existing structures of the state sector, lease-contracting will not be able to yield anything at all. Everything will remain as it is, and simply a part of payments to the budget will be renamed lease-contracting payments. The sum will not change and the economy will not change, either. The state sector has been put into absolutely abnormal conditions. Everything that the authorities think you do not need is taken from you in a sweep, and everything they think you need is added in a sweep, too. This means the same system as the one that has been introduced for cooperatives should be introduced for the state sector, in other words, free financial autonomy. What are we afraid of here? We are afraid that, under the conditions of free financial autonomy, they will waste all their development fund on salaries. But look—cooperatives do not waste it, capitalists do not waste it. When people know that their savings are their salaries of tomorrow, they do not waste them. But they waste them if they know that tomorrow they may come begging to the state and receive their salaries without having bothered about any savings.

[Krutov] Can it happen that the transfer of state enterprises to lease-contracting will result in even greater price increases, as has happened with cooperation?

[Bunich] A decision on cooperation was adopted recently and it has cooled down the situation with prices, to a degree. With regard to state enterprises, these decisions extend to them, too. Therefore, a course toward enhancing state influence on price formation both in state and cooperative sectors has taken shape now, and I think that it is a long-term course, so as to make price movements less capricious.

[Krutov] I am for progressive tax, though.

[Bunich] I am for it, too, but for a moderately progressive one. If it is too progressive, people will stop working. Do you remember that a long time ago orchards were cut down?

[Krutov] Yes, I do.

[Bunich] They were cut down not by decrees but by taxes. When such a lethal tax was introduced, orchards vanished. So I am for a moderately progressive tax, but our Ministry of Finances has been procrastinating with it. For 3 and ½ years we have not had taxes in the state sector, and they promise to elaborate them by the next 5-Year Plan. What sort of taxes will they be? I do not understand at all why it should take 5 years to calculate taxes. In my view taxes can be easily calculated over 5 months. This, too, is an element required for going over to that system, because there is no financial autonomy without tax.

Official Announces Western Participation in Banks

AU0203162189 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 2 Mar 89 p 18

[Text] Vienna—In the near future foreign banks will allegedly be permitted to participate in Soviet credit institutions within the framework of joint ventures. This was announced by Yuriy Ponomarev, member of the board of the USSR State Bank, at a lecture in Vienna. Ponomarev also referred to the preliminary work for a Soviet bank law, which is to subject the country's credit institutions to competition. In addition, this is also to initiate a market for loans for long-term financing projects.

Restructuring in the banking system is necessary because the economic reforms have proved incompatible with the rigid structures of the Soviet banking system. For a long time, only the State Bank, Gosbank, and a special institute for long-term financing, Stroybank, existed in the USSR. In January 1988 another five special banks were founded, and since the summer of 1988 cooperative and incorporated banks have been in existence.

Need for Radical Restructuring Defended

PM1003160589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by R. Simonyan, doctor of economic sciences: "More About Where We Stand. Mulling Over Letters"]

[Text] Moscow—"Where We Stand"—this was the title of a conversation between our correspondent and R. Simonyan, doctor of economic sciences, published in IZVESTIYA No 190, 1988. The editor received many letters after the item was published. Reactions to it varied. Many approved of the candid discussion of our country's position in the world economic system; others, however, were critical. The editorial office showed the letters to R. Simonyan. The article published below is a continuation of the discussion.

I will begin with the critical letters; they are more of a stimulus to the continuation of the conversation. The attitude of some of the letter writers to the "Where We Stand" interview is expressed pretty accurately by A. Gavenko of Kishinev, who said: "The stereotyped vilification of our past I find simply offensive."

What do I want to address in connection with the letters? We have an established tradition of judging our development by comparing what we are today with what we were in the past. Sure, this is useful and essential. But only as a first step. It must not be forgotten that other countries have not been standing still. To be able to assess the real state of affairs we must compare ourselves with them.

A simple example. Suppose we assess the development of Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast over the past 70 years. I am sure progress will have been immense. But what if you compare the results of the development of the former center of the Russian empire with the results achieved by Finland—an outlying district of Russia? Incidentally, on many occasions I have suggested to a colleague, a lecturer at Moscow State University, that his students should carry out a comparative analysis of that kind as part of their course work. For some reason he has categorically refused. Is it possible, now, in the era of glasnost, to try? It is not just up to him; it is a matter of approach. Are we going to talk openly about our actual results against the background of world experience or will we continue to call it "vilification of the past"?

Now we come to our prospects—something many of our readers ask about. To be frank, it is difficult talking about them.. Not because we have not seen any prognoses on the Soviet and Western economies. That is not the reason. Our lag (and this has already been noted in our previous conversation) is not only and not so much quantitative as qualitative. Indeed, what use would it be if at the beginning of the third millennium we were even further ahead of other countries in the smelting of steel and output of cement and other similar products, production of which has not increased for 10 years now in the developed capitalist countries? While at the same time, in the communications sphere, say, we have reached the level they were at in the seventies, God willing? What kind of information society, which is what the whole world is talking about at the moment, do we have then?

Take another example. It remains a mystery how one can achieve world standards and ensure the updating of machine building products on a par with Western countries when we spend on scientific research and experimental and design work in that sector only a fraction of what the United States spends, compared with capital investments.

As long as we keep the existing economic model we are very unlikely to gain substantial ground in the foreseeable future on the leading capitalist countries in terms of basic social production efficiency parameters—labor productivity and the power-output and materials-output ratios. It is extremely difficult to overcome the accumulated national economic imbalances and attain the level reached by the developed capitalist countries in terms of such indicators as proportionate personal consumption, the services sphere, group "B" goods, and national income. And all this, naturally, comes together in the standard of living.

The quality of our development can only be changed by radically changing the economic mechanism. This is what lies behind the 27th CPSU Congress decisions on the new structural and investment policy and new economic mechanism, on greater attention to machine building, acceleration of the rate of scientific-technical progress, development of commodity-money relations, and so forth. The way we implement them will decide whether we are able to achieve a fundamentally new development trajectory and what place we will occupy in the world system of economic coordinates.

Of course, one must not overlook letters whose authors adopt a strongly negative stance in their assessment of the principles of the new economic mechanism, market methods, and competition. "The concept that has been put forward," P. Zuyev writes from Dnepropetrovsk, "is acquiring an increasingly distinct political hue that contradicts the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and the interests of socialist society. It expresses the interests of an elitist, degenerate section of society that has risen on the crest of a social wave. The implementation of this concept inevitably brings with it the revival and exacerbation of the class struggle."

Although the wording of the letter, frankly, is highly reminiscent of the terminology of the thirties, we will discuss the question it raises. Only let us call a spade a spade.

For many decades we have been brought up with a black and white view of the world: Everything is fine here, nothing but advantages. There, everything is bad: crises, and historical bankruptcy.

The world is multicolored, here and over there. The advantages of a particular system do not come about automatically. There is the well-known maxim of La Rochefoucauld about vices being an extension of virtues. It is less well known that in December 1921, at the the 9th All-Russian Congress of Soviets, V.I. Lenin used this maxim to describe the development of the revolution, the party, trade unions, and the entire apparatus running Soviet Russia. Indeed, our achievements are known to the whole world, but is the fabric of our life woven of achievements alone?

For example, we have become accustomed to believing that public ownership of the means of production and, consequently, the absence of man's exploitation of man give us undoubted advantages in economic and social justice terms. But what does one keep on encountering in reality? The fact that state property is controlled by a bureaucratic administrative apparatus that is not directly interested in the end result of labor and essentially bears no responsibility for its effective utilization. With the potential of a parasitic existence for some at the expense of ownership by the whole people and the alienation of others from it. With leveling, where bad workers are paid at the expense of good workers.

Scientific-technical progress, quality, and labor standards are being eroded. Social stratification is taking place in terms of unearned income, whose source is a monopoly on location, connections, scarce items

What does all this have to do with the advantages of socialism? Nothing! We are talking about the blemishes of a bureaucracy fostered by Stalin's economic administration system, which we are trying, but so far have by no means managed to completely destroy.

Finally, another aspect of the matter—our attitude toward capitalism, to the interpretation of its economic mechanism. What do we see? Decades pass, we grow tired of seeking ways of defining the crises as one replaces another, yet capitalism, as a social system, has not collapsed. It turns out to be far more flexible than it appeared to be: It adapts nicely to changing conditions, undergoes transformation, and is very different from the way it was at the time of Karl Marx, while we keep on scourging the wounds opened up more than a century ago by the great thinker.

What a strange logic we have! On the one hand, we constantly and quite justifiably talk about the epoch-making, transforming influence of October on the history of mankind, and on world development. On the other hand, we talk about capitalism as if it had not felt the influence. But capitalism has learned and is still learning tremendous lessons from our revolution.

The birth of the socialist state gave the world and working people an alternative and was a challenge that had to be answered. Capitalism was forced to acknowledge this. State regulation levers were introduced, anticyclical and anticrisis stabilizers were designed, laws were adopted against monopoly diktat, and a system of social security was developed. Socialists and social democrats came to power in many capitalist countries. Those who were called social traitors, no less, in Stalin's time were operating, albeit in their own, reformist way, with working people's interests in mind, and without it they would simply not have held on to power.

The process of socialization of production was further developed, joint-stock forms of ownership replaced private, various forms of working people's involvement in joint-stock capital and in the running of companies began to be practiced, and the cooperative movement gathered momentum.

That is why, it seems to me, one must not be frightened by the bogey of capitalism, but scrutinize it closely and try to understand what that social system has turned into and how it differs from and compares to the socialist model. One should not merely emphasize the fundamental differences between the two systems.

The West will not suffer as a result of our criticism. Only we will suffer as a result of our one-sidedness. If we are to live in one world, then mutual enrichment is the better option. Only by removing the blinders from our eyes can we make a constructive contribution to restructuring, combine our achievements with other countries' achievements, and show how certain economic mechanisms and certain political methods used in the West can operate in our conditions and what they can do.

But one must not go to the other extreme. When embarking on the use of economic accountability and commodity-money relations one must be clearly aware that market mechanisms are no panacea. There is an opposite side to every coin.

Competition, efficiency, and rapid assimilation of scientific-technical achievements mean that the unsuccessful fail and the end result is unemployment. Enterprise and initiative can lead to shady deals and fraud. Rising incomes are accompanied by efforts to conceal them, corruption, rackets, and mafia groups. Economic interest and profit making can overshadow human beings and their needs and dictate a predatory attitude to nature.

All these are also realities of economic life under capitalism (and they are becoming increasingly apparent here). In the West market mechanisms have been operating for several hundred years. It has plentiful experience of combating the shady aspects of market mechanisms and has armed itself with a variety of means to prevent—albeit not always effective—negative phenomena from developing. We do not have that experience yet. Nor do we have the relevant regulatory instruments. In my view it is extremely important to do everything we can not to repeat the mistakes for which other countries, as history tells us, paid with savage crises and social cataclysms. Otherwise ill-restrained negative economic and social processes accompanying the switch to new methods of management could nullify the very course of radical economic reform and lead to heightened social tension.

Above all one must not artificially counterpose the plan to the market. In the modern capitalist economy the market is by no means a synonym for anarchy. V.I. Lenin talked about the planned organization of production in trusts and concerns. Now, with the rapid development of microelectronics and information science, Western producers have the opportunity to make deliveries to the market much less of a gamble, to be constantly in touch with changes in demand, and to produce specific products for specific consumers.

I will give you an example of the way the production and sales service is organized at the world's biggest bearing producer, Sweden's SKF corporation, a company which in the early twenties helped the young Soviet state to organize modern bearing production and is still the leader in the field. All the West European production and sales departments snd enterprises of this firm are connected up to a central computer in Schweinfurt (FRG). A customer can ascertain in a matter of seconds whether the type and size of bearing he requires is available in the nearest distribution center, at the warehouse of one of SKF's West European enterprises, or in the production programs. SKF not only draws up the production programs on the basis of specific orders, but is switching to direct deliveries of bearings to consumers "right on time," while ceasing to build sales warehouses and distribution centers. This enables it to dramatically reduce warehousing and transport costs and reduce the period required for manufacture and supply of goods (to 1-3 days). The client is guaranteed that the order will be met as quickly and as accurately as possible. So much for a chaotic market!

But we know from our own experience what kind of imbalances and anarchy planned management of the economy can cause. What is a production plan? An instruction to produce a certain quantity of a certain product by a certain time to meet a particular need. A plan can only be good if the need is known precisely. Otherwise one will be producing something that is not needed. Moreover, a plan must be prompt and flexible in taking changes and fluctuations in demand into account. Otherwise imbalances are also inevitable.

A plan that is smooth only on paper, that paralyzes creativity—that kind of plan is not needed, because it gives an impression of orderliness where mismanagement is the rule. It is a typical product of the economic administration system. In the absence of a feedback mechanism our economy and society have no defense against the adverse effects of incorrect managerial decisions taken at the top of the administrative hierarchy. So negative trends, when they are manifested, are not extinguished in time and tend to snowball.

...We have been hearing more and more lately about confidence in restructuring not being infinite, about people wanting to use store shelves rather than newspaper pages as the criterion for judging the actual results of economic reform, and at last to feel that words really are being converted into action. But they must be realists. It is wrong to believe that a situation that has prevailed for many decades can be changed by waving a magic wand. If a person has grown up in conditions where economic interest has been suppressed and initiative has been punished, not figuratively, but literally, it is too much to expect that person to be enterprising immediately, even when the most radical change has taken place.

Reform is a most arduous process, and to expect it to succeed rapidly is an illusion. At the same time, it is fatal to drag one's feet and be too cautious.

We find ourselves returning again and again to V.I. Lenin. The most interesting thing is to trace Lenin's train of thought, his approach to the analysis and solution of the problems facing the country. You will notice that life was not adapted to fit the plans (it was not until the latter half of the twenties that this started) and that policy was based on the real facts of life. Hence the non-hackneyed approach and the willingness to abandon decisions if they did not pass the practical test.

"How many follies we have committed and how many more we are yet to commit." This was said openly not only among like-minded colleagues, but also in front of opponents.

It seems to me that we must now assess whether everything in the restructuring process is being done correctly and consistently. Assess where we have not been decisive enough and settled for half-measures and what steps have been half-baked and have not brought the expected result. We must make adjustments and move forward with greater urgency.

* Rank-Xerox Official on Joint Enterprises

WA18250111 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 4 Mar 89 p 4

[Interview with (Grant Sazerlend), Moscow trade representative of Rank-Xerox, by correspondent A. Shifrin : "The Baton is Passed to Rank-Xerox"; first three paragraphs are an introduction; date and place not given]

[Text] Today, the regular competition cycle begins. This time, an English company has established prizes: first prize, color television; second prize, portable color television; third prize, stereo receiver. A number of other incentive prizes have been established by the editorship of SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA and the "Rank-Xerox" firm.

Why does the "Rank-Xerox" company, known throughout the world as a producer of office technology, accept an invitation to participate in a chess competition announced by SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA?

Moscow trade representative of this English firm, (Grant Sazerlend) answers this and other questions put to him by newspaper correspondent Aleksander Shifrin.

[(Sazerlend)] "Rank-Xerox" has long collaborated successfully with many sports organizations in various countries of the world. We were the official suppliers of xerographic equipment for several olympic games, including the 1980 Moscow Olympiad; our firm has lent financial support to a range of various competitions, from skiing to soccer. Therefore, the opportunity to take part in conducting a SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA chess match was interesting for us, especially now, as a new generation of highly talented chess players is establishing itself in the United Kingdom.

[Shifrin] Would you briefly familiarize our readers with the history of "Rank-Xerox"?

[(Sazerlend)] The firm was founded in 1956 as a joint venture of the "Rank Corporation" in the USA and the "Rank Organization" in England. Now, the annual trade turnover of "Xerox" is $16-billion, a significant portion of which is from the manufacture of office technology. Almost all the countries of the world are our field of activity. Our employees now number almost 100,000.

[Shifrin] How long have you had contacts with the Soviet Union?

[(Sazerlend)] "Rank-Xerox's" first exhibition was held in the Polytechnical museum in 1964. The matter moved forward slowly, but steadily, until 1970, when the company opened its permanent trade delegation in the hotel "Ukraina" in Moscow, and signed its contract for millions with the "Tekhnopromimport" all-union association. Two years later, in collaboration with "Mosgorremonttekhnika" we created a service center for the Moscow region, and in 1974, the company was officially accredited by the USSR Ministry of Foreign Trade, and we moved to new quarters. Since that time, our USSR operations have increased manifold.

[Shifrin] A process of creating joint enterprises is taking place in the Soviet Union. Does "Rank-Xerox" have any plans on that score?

[(Sazerlend)] Without a doubt. "Rank-Xerox" has already signed an agreement to create one such joint enterprise, and is now examining the opportunity to participate in several others. The one already in existence is with "Vneshtorgizdat," and is called "Reprotsentr." Its mission is to organize networks of reproduction centers throughout the Soviet Union on the same principles upon which the analogous "Xerox" centers of so many other world cities operate. The first ""Reprotsentr" department will open in Moscow on the territory of the All-Union Exhibition of Achievements of the National Economy [VDNKh].

[Shifrin] How important is the Soviet market to your firm?

[(Sazerlend)] This is an interesting question, especially taking into consideration the changes now taking place in the structure of Soviet foreign trade. For the "Xerox" company, the Soviet Union is potentially a market with great prospects. More precisely, here we have a mutual interest. The fundamental prerequisite for raising production efficacy is the capacity for rapid information transfer both within the given organization and beyond. This is impossible without the use of computers, duplicating machines, modern typewriters, and other equipment. "Rank-Xerox" is one of the few companies which supplies the entire gamut of such equipment—from desk-top publishing systems, using laser printers with high print quality to blueprint copiers. From personal computers linked with local networks to extremely complex facsimile machines—by which texts, photographs, and drawings may be transferred over distances to anyplace in the world through ordinary telephone wires in a matter of seconds.

The Soviet Union needs all of this equipment, and we are ready to supply it. Incidentally, you should not think that we are only interested in exporting your supplies of hard currency, because we are prepared to examine any interesting proposals for financing our imports to the USSR. Essentially, we are purchasing a full range of Soviet manufactured goods for significant sums and are attempting to expand this bilateral trade.

[Shifrin] Mr (Sazerlend), in addition to all of the information given in your interview, is there anything else which you would like to tell our readers about your firm?

[(Sazerlend)] Without a doubt, we would like to be viewed as a reliable partner for Soviet industry. We regard our cooperation with the Soviet Union very seriously: Five English representatives and about 20 Soviet employees now work in our Moscow office. Via our partners, "Tekhnopromimport" and USSR "Gossnab," we are offering technical service and supply of replacement parts. And of course, we provide the reliability and quality for which "Xerox" is famous.

* Nuclear Fuel Reprocessing Facility Visited

WA18220055 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 Mar 89 First Edition p 6

[Article by V. Chertkov: "Special Purpose Facility: Report From a Nuclear Fuel Reprocessing and Storage Factory"]

[Text] *Under the clear blue sky the birch cuttings frolicked with the pines. Sparkling, fluffy white carpets that made our eyes blink were laying on the pre-spring ground. And through this beauty we were rushing toward a city that was neither on the maps, nor on the rail or air schedules. We were rushing toward a place where nuclear fuel is delivered for reprocessing and storage.*

The long road did not lull me, but set me to thinking. For many in the past this was a one-way road. Beria was the Satan who ruled things here. It was he, namely he, who was responsible for building the facility on time, at the cost of many victims. What he did he did, and he succeeded in putting the camp into operation. The barracks did not matter to him. Where the barracks are, any thing at all can be put together, even a stairway to the sky.

It was namely here, history must recount, that Igor Vasilyevich Kurchatov and Beria carried out the urgent task of building the first industrial reactor. One has been forgotten, and the other is eternally loved and remembered. I will still see Kurchatov, raised up to the crowns of the birch trees, congealed in unrestrained enthusiasm, and will greet him every morning until I leave "N" city.

Now I am driving into it. The light, squat gates open noiselessly, and the vehicle finds itself in the "holding area." A bit farther and there are other gates. They let us through as soon as soldiers check our documents. Everyone is courteous and respectful. It is not distorted by the sight of the barbed wire, running into the woods. It is a strict necessity, but today no one is groaning behind it.

"Pass."

Soon I am looking around the city from the height of my hotel room. The nearby houses obstruct the view of the lake. In my mind I see a man bent down at the very edge of the water. With a stick he is tracing rows of figures, some kind of markings, in the sand on the bank. A wave comes and, cursing, licks everything off. Archimedes in Syracuse in this way also did not finish writing something. "Do not bother me," he hurled at the Roman, and the latter raised his sword to him. Kurchatov also thought about death least of all, when he exhausted himself with work and slept only 4 hours a night. With irony he nicknamed one of the reactors "DOUD-3" [until blow number 3]. By this time Igor Vasilyevich had already endured two insults.

I would have long scrutinized times past. However, a knock on the door reminded me that it was time. I was the first journalist here, and naturally was impatient to get to the facility as quickly as possible.

From the residential apartments to the industrial zone is a drive of some distance. We passed one control post, and it is a rather long time to the next. The vehicle that delivered us from the city remains at the gates, and from there we went only by factory transport.

We were struck by pipes that disappeared into the sky. We got used to it: Smoke always poured from them. Here it did not matter. Discharge of radioactive gases had been reduced to a minimum, and they were cleaned according to the most rigid, ecologically safe norms. Large trees with healthy undergrowth were between the buildings, which were connected by ventilation galleries. It was a land the future of which was predetermined by I. V. Kurchatov; a land where, together with Igor Vasilyevich worked the well-known scientists A. P. Aleksandrov, V. P. Nikolskiy, and V. A. Nikitin, and such builders of the defense industry as B. L. Vannikov, A. P. Zavenyagin, and Ye. P. Slavskiy. These were the men about whom D. I. Vlokhintsev, USSR Academy of Sciences associate member, would write: "In the memories of the people who took part in the development of atomic science and technology, its initial period remains especially vivid and dear, when the foundations of Soviet atomic technology were laid. In this period arose not only the main ideas, but also, no less importantly, the style of work of Soviet engineers and scientists, which should truthfully be called 'Kurchatov-like.'"

In a few minutes I will see the spent nuclear fuel. But will it, removed from the reactor, call forth the image of a nuclear-powered vessel, shattering ice in the Greenland Sea, or the image of the force that carries submarines through the ocean depths for months, and floods a city in light?

In a few minutes I will see the "hell's stuffing," created by the earth and man, the sufferings of whom, as creator, we often forget. And what yesterday caused rapture, today goes without saying. And here nuclear fuel, even spent fuel, does not let us sleep quietly. Our minds are strained, asking how to best deal with it, in order again to force it to work, and so that it does not devour the beauty around us, and so that it does not lodge a killer inside of us. I admit that I entered the zone with the thought: "What do I need this for?" But as I became familiar with the technology I was convinced that, at each stage, reliable protection exists against all possible radiation, and that here no one will let the genie out of the bottle. Painstaking psychological selection of people is also a feature of this facility. True, it is known that even jars of cucumbers explode if the rules for conserving them are violated.

For 25 years I have been going about the Arctic on nuclear-powered vessels, and never did any alarm associated with the reactors ever rouse me from my place. And always when on voyages, and I see this also at the factory, I was surrounded by calm, good-natured, healthy people. You will say: "And Chernobyl? Its sarcophagus?" I answer: "Slipshodness." One can fall even in a smooth place.

But let us go back under the arches of the factory, the director of which, V. K. Sazhnov, invites:

"Let's go in."

The decontamination center. We undress completely. We put on snow-white trousers, shirt, one pair of socks, another. On top go similarly white overalls. Two more small caps with tapes on the back. And, finally, cloth boots. We can go.

At first we find ourselves in the so-called railroad corridor. The roof of a silvery train car, where containers of spent fuel are located, opens wide. The operation to extract it from there reminds me of the docking of spacecraft. The crane is in essence a huge, steel shaft. It penetrates deep into the container and is very firmly connected, locked there to the radioactive cargo.

"The container itself weighs approximately 10 tonnes, and in it fits a little more than 100 kilograms of fuel," states operator N. Lednev. "It has been developed in accordance with the requirements for safe transport of radioactive substances—durability, airtightness, nuclear and radiation safety, and heat regime—taking into account normal and emergency transport conditions."

The fuel is not delivered here immediately. When it is removed from the reactor it first goes into special storage pits, where it stays no less than 3 years. And only after reduction in the level of radioactive emissions from decay of short-lived isotopes is it sent to the factory for removal of the remaining unspent uranium-235 and plutonium-239 which are produced during the nuclear reaction in order to again use these valuable elements.

The cargo is fed to a site to a special pit. On nonrusting sections of the floor is a mark, as on drawing sheets. Television cameras are all around. All of these attributes help guide the fuel to the pit. But here it is lowered under water for yet another decay period. Below is steel; above are 20,000 cubic meters of water, free of any impurities, which sometimes mysteriously sparkles. My heart beats calmly. It seems to me that the computer is following its rhythm, as it is the majority of the 70,000 monitoring points, which record the most diverse situations in the factory.

Having remained several months under water (a reliable absorber of all types of radiation), the fuel finally goes for reprocessing. Whereas, up to this point everything can be seen visually, the subsequent processes can be evaluated only by columns of figures on tapes, which run out of instruments. The specialists see approximately 40 parameters, which describe the dynamics of this very difficult matter.

"We separate out the metal; that is, the casing containing the fuel itself, from valuable components, and in a special environment select elements we need, and almost the entire Mendeleev table is present in the process," shares Yu. I. Kostyurin, operator at the central control post. "Having decontaminated and enriched something, we make it serve again. The rest goes for burial."

I do not intend to discuss in detail the factory technology, and its ins and outs. I will say one thing: It is simple, as is everything of genius, and at the same time is a cluster of knowledge from many fields of science. Every "breath" of the process is recorded at the panels. The very complex reprocessing process is carried out as if on a knife edge. Its slightest deviation may lead to serious consequences associated with halting production.

Enchanted, I observe the mechanical arms through the thickness of leaded glass. It is one thing when they, at the will of the operator, take a match box out of his palm. It is entirely different to see them handling nuclear fuel. Here, reminding one of the sticks used for corporal punishment, it is placed on a channel for cutting. A mechanical saw is turned on. A laser is not used due to the large gas emission, which is dangerous. An electron beam is not used because of the large width of the cut and large amount of waste. Each "crumb" of nuclear fuel is obtained at the cost of tremendous efforts, and is costly.

In the evening we return to the decontamination station. The floors everywhere are of thick plastic the color of ivory. The joints are welded, the edges are elevated high, and one walks as if in a trough. The stairs are dressed out in the same manner. We pass through control doors. The instruments "probe" us—everything is in order. Later, still at the exit, when we will be in our clothes, they will check us "for cleanness," already along with the vehicle. We remove the special costume and go to the bath, the shower.

I walk for a long time about the well-arranged city, located on the bank of a huge lake. The streets are spacious, made up of eye-pleasing, multi-story houses and cottages; the stores are large, with a good selection of goods and food products (their own excellent subsidiary farms). The people are well-meaning and smiling. They have modern clothes, as if one has gone to the boulevards of the capital. It is hard to believe that at one time here everything began with a camp, that no one was permitted to leave, even for holiday, and that correspondence with relatives and dear ones was limited.

The past is like an unpleasant dream. The fact that I am here is also in the spirit of the times. I wanted to spend a bit more time with the long-time local residents, and to gaze at the buildings where Kurchatov's dark, happy eyes shone. But the main thing is to become familiar with this rare production, and in the morning we again go to the factory. Again we leave our clothing in a locker in the decontamination station, and go to the shops, to the cavern to which I am beginning to become accustomed. I no longer consider myself a white freak.

White is harmonious. It blends in with the cleanliness encountered here. The washing and clothing repair department, where Yu. M. Busygin is chief, smells exactly like a good laundry—with washing powders, and fragrant, nostril-tickling soapsuds. They wash the train cars, containers, hydraulic motors, and foam generators. Complete decontamination takes place. They even wash the plugs, each screw and every compartment. Then a brush stroke is made, an instrument is set against it, and a measurement is taken. The integrity and reliability of the containers is checked by all possible methods, and is repeatedly monitored. The medical station is controlled by the strictest measures. And only after this is a train car loaded and sent out on the road. The cars are parked in a special way. I was with V. Chtetsov, senior engineer for cargo transport, at the departure tracks. The cars remain uncoupled until a locomotive arrives, which is dispatched 2 hours before shipment. An hour before movement of the special lettered train, a trolley runs ahead, checking the reliability of the roadbed. A special schedule is made up for tracking along each line, and it is steadfastly observed. There have not been any instances when it has been disrupted. Every 150-200 kilometers the lettered train, which is reliably protected, is inspected. Sensors that monitor the state of the cargo are sent to the wagon where the escort team and power plant are located. The reliability of the containers was described in the beginning of this report. Even if there is a derailment and they fall, nothing will happen to them. The steel jacket, with its 376 mm thick walls, is capable of withstanding extreme stresses.

And what about the radioactive waste products formed in the course of reprocessing of the spent fuel? The waste products that trouble people by getting into the soil and water, contaminating the atmosphere, causing harm to every living thing, and mutilating future generations of the world's civilization. Here they go into a special, remotely controlled furnace, where they are cooked with a special glass. The search for the present variant of the furnace, for which super-reliability was required, took 10 years. Now a second is being built.

"The glass consists of complex, well, and precisely balanced components, which keep it from being destroyed under the effects of any environment," states S. Ye. Stepanov, the shop chief. "It is poured into large capacity steel containers, and these in turn are placed three to a can. Come and see."

Through a little window I observe the welding apparatus approach a can lid. From there it goes to a monitoring compartment where it remains for 2 weeks. The loaded can undergoes various checks for reliability. After this a huge, 140-ton robot pulls it toward itself and carries it away to the storage room. There it will occupy one of many cubicles. The durability of the can is calculated to last for many long years. In this time the half-life period of the majority of the elements contained in the marshy-colored glass ingot will be completed.

The highway flew by under the brittle, unprotected sky. The sun struck me in the face. I joyfully roused myself and thought: "Here I have seen what 'heats up' the winter suns, but there is nothing better than this." And it foretold spring.

Agricultural

Weather, Snow Cover, Crop Conditions Reported

* March Weather Forecast

WA18240079a Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 1 Mar 89 p 4

[Unattributed Report]

[Text] March weather is extremely varied across the expansive territories of our country. While gardens already bloom in Central Asia in March, and the daily temperature averages 25-28 degrees over years of observation, and the temperatures in the Caucasus averages 15-20 degrees, in the north of Western Siberia, in Yakutiya, and the Magadan Oblast, the daily temperatures are still negative and do not rise above minus 5-7 degrees.

It is predicted that March will be 1-3 degrees warmer than usual in the European territory of the Soviet Union, with a temperature in the central and central chernozem oblasts of minus 3-1 above. In the Baltic republics, Belorussia, and the Ukraine, from zero to plus 4 degrees; the Volga region, from minus 5 in the north to 1 above in south. In the Northern Caucasus, the temperatures for the month will will be near normal (somewhat higher in the Rostov oblast)—1-5 degrees above zero.

As far as precipitation is concerned, the Ukraine, Moldavia, the central chernozem oblasts, and the Central and South Volga, as well as Estonia and Latvia can expect little accumulation. In Western Siberia as well, March will be 1-2 degrees warmer than normal, with temperatures in its southern areas of minus 6-11 degrees.

The March temperatures in most of Kazakhstan will be minus 5-10 degrees. In the southern areas, plus 1-4 degrees (1-2 degrees colder than normal).

The air temperature for the month in Central Asia will be 1-2 degrees lower than normal, with readings of 4-9 degrees in the Tajik, Uzbek, and Turkmen SSRs.

* Snow Cover, Crop Conditions

WA18240079 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 5 Mar 89 p 2

[Article by T. Rossinskaya: "Weather and Sowings"]

[Text] The European territory of the USSR has had unusually warm weather. The maximum air temperature in the last 10 days of February in Belorussia, Moldavia, most of the Ukraine, southern Rostov Oblast and the Krasnodar Kray rose to 15-23 degrees. In sowings of winter cereal culture and perennial grass here, vegetation was renewed 1-1.5 months earlier than the usual periods. To the north and east of the Tallinn-Novgorod-Smolensk-Kaluga-Lipetsk-Voronezh-Elitsa line, winter cultures were under snow cover of a depth varying from 15-25 centimeters in the west of the territory to 60-90 centimeters in the northeast.

As a result of the warm weather, the intense melt-off and condensation of snow continues. In the central-chernozem region, with the exception of the Tambov Oblast, the fields are free of snow. However, the vegetation of winter crops has not yet begun, as the soil is still frozen. In the majority of oblasts of the central region, in Tambov Oblast, and in the northern Volgograd Oblast, the depth of the snow cover has been reduced to 15-25 centimeters. In these regions, the ground ice cover has been preserved only in places. The conditions for finishing the over-wintering of the winter crops have been satisfactory.

In the majority of locations of the Northern, Volga-Vyatka, Northern Ural, and northern half of the Volga regions, and the Northwest Central region, the depth of the snow cover in fields with winter cultures was 40-70 centimeters. The minimum soil temperature at the depth of the bed of node tillering of winter crops was maintained at zero-minus 2 degrees. The process of rotting has remained with the plants here.

In the agricultural zone of Western Siberia and in Northern Kazakhstan the winter cereals and grasses were under good snow cover. In Southern Novosibirsk Oblast and in the Northwest Altay Kray, the snow cover was 15-20 centimeters. The minimum soil temperature at a depth of 3 centimeters dipped to minus 21 degrees, which is harmful for sowing.

It has been cool in Central Asia; freezing temperatures have remained. In Turkmeniya, where it is warmer, winter cereals and grasses grew for the majority of the last ten days. In the rest of the Central Asian territory and in southern Kazakhstan, they are still in a state of dormancy.

Scientific

'Mir-2' Research Station Under Construction

LD1203152189 Moscow in English to North America 0000 GMT 12 MAR 89

[Text] The Soviet Union is building another space research station of the 'Mir' type. The new space lab, 'Mir-2,' will have 12 mobile platforms mounted outside. They will house astro-physical equipment, saving much space inside the station. Future crews are likely to appreciate the advantages of the new design concept; to direct telescope to the earth or any other celestial body, they won't have to change the altitude of the station. This design concept was earlier used in the Vega unmanned space probe that studied Halley's Comet and it proved justified.

Armenia Introducing Liquid Gas To Improve Ecology

NC1203122389 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] Dear compatriots, as you already know, the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and the Council of Ministers recently passed a decision aimed at ameliorating the ecological situation in the republic. Moved by this decision, the Haygazart [Armenian gas production enterprise], with the active participation of the USSR Ministry of Gas Industry, is setting up an ecologically clean production system which aims at protecting the environment and atmosphere.

At present, a natural gas liquefying plant, the first utility production unit in the country, is being built at the edge of Apovyan City. From an ecological point of view, it is a hundred times less hazardous than the petroleum products used in the entire automobile idnustry in the republic. The new plant's production will make it possible, for the first time in this country, to use natural gas as a fuel in the airplanes flying between Moscow and Yerevan. This will substantially protect the atmosphere over Yerevan and Edzhmiatsinskiy and Oktemberyanskiy Rayons, which surround Zvartnots Airport.

Later, the thermal-powered locomotives at the Yerevan branch of the Transcaucasian railways will be installed with natural gas fuel and personal (?cars) too will be installed with this fuel. The natural gas liquification plant will start operations next year.

Military

'Roundtable' Discussion Held on Veterans' Problems

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[Discussion with veteran servicemen standing as candidate deputies—Marshal of the Soviet Union Kulikov, Army General Tretyak, Marshal of Aviation Yefimov, Admiral of the Fleet Sorokin, Marshal of Aviation Silantyev, and Colonel, Retired, Maresyev—conducted by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondents Lieutenant Colonel S. Pashayev and Major V. Kazakov under the "Candidate Deputies' Roundtable" rubric: "Veterans and Restructuring"—first paragraph is editorial introduction; date and place not given]

[Text] The following USSR candidate people's deputies from the All-Union Organization of War and Labor Veterans took part in a roundtable discussion organized by the editorial office: V.G. Kulikov, Hero of the Soviet Union and Marshal of the Soviet Union; Army General I.M. Tretyak, Hero of the Soviet Union and Hero of Socialist Labor; A.N. Yefimov, twice Hero of the Soviet Union and Marshal of Aviation; A.I. Sorokin, Admiral of the Fleet; A.P. Silantyev, Hero of the Soviet Union and Marshal of Aviation; Colonel, Retired, A.P. Maresyev, Hero of the Soviet Union .

[Moderator] The current election campaign may perhaps rightly be described as one of the most tangible manifestations of democracy. The polemical pitch of the election campaign and discussion is evidence of not just the new political situation prevailing in our country but the awareness on the part of everyone of us of our individual and collective responsibility for our country's fate and for ensuring that restructuring is irreversible.

You have held numerous meetings with voters since being nominated as USSR candidate people's deputies. Each roundtable participant here will, of course, have received quite a few mandates, requests, and suggestions. What is it then that worries veterans today?

[Sorokin] I would sum up my personal impressions this way: There are no problems that do not worry veterans today. And that is no exaggeration. War and labor veterans are a special category of people. They take an interest in everything, because they know better than anyone else the value of the people's ruble, a tonne of grain, a scientific discovery, and every new year of peace. None of this has come easily. It has all been earned, fought for, and struggled for by them. That is why they display such sincere, such unanimous backing for the party's course of restructuring and democratizing our life.

[Kulikov] And veterans are not only actively supporting but are also seeking as far as they can to promote the practical implementation of the CPSU's socioeconomic policy. And here they insistently stress that benefits can only be derived through people's intellect and labor. We do not have the right to live in debt. Candidates have therefore had expressed to them as a most important mandate the unanimous demand to enhance the education of young people and actively involve all who can and should contribute to the well-being of society.

[Yefimov] Yes, statewide problems remain the priority for veterans. The progress of restructuring, economic and political reform, the education of the young, problems of war and peace.... But I would stress that that is not all. I still recall a passionate speech made by war veteran Isankulov at a meeting in Alma-Ata, who spoke about the tragedy of the Aral Sea and the lamentable situation in the Balkhash region, urging the veteran community to really get involved in solving the environmental problems that had built up. Belorussian veterans talked with undisguised bitterness about "ghost villages" and the urgent need to revive them and restore the age-old love of the land in people. Today's interethnic relations problems were discussed with a sense of alarm in Dushanbe.

Most meetings touch in some way or another on questions of price formation and taxation policy and problems connected with the practical implementation of the food program.

[Maresyev] I would like to stress that veterans' ideas and proposals are not couched in the form of claims or demands on society. On the contrary, they mostly voice self-criticism: We are not doing enough to perpetuate the memory of those who have died for the motherland or the victims of unlawful actions and repression, have neglected heroic and patriotic work, and have been passive in disputes on interethnic problems....

[Kulikov] We have quite a few problems of basic indifference. I was recently approached by a woman in Minsk. Her husband had served 26 calendar years in the Army. They were posted to Minsk where there was no apartment. And then, suddenly, misfortune struck—the officer was dying. How are they going to live and where? The woman turned to one commanding officer and then another, only to meet with a brick wall. Only after I met with the commander and a member of the district military council was the question resolved. An air regiment commander discharged into the reserve has been living in a a private apartment for 3 years now in Minsk—what a scandal....

[Sorokin] I addressed a meeting of the Moscow veterans' aktiv. Veterans of the Black Sea Fleet living in Moscow voiced their sense of injury: They had been excluded from Sevastopol, the city which they had liberated and defended. I had to immediately get in touch with the fleet military council and ask for the question to be settled. The Sevastopol City Soviet has now made the decision that all participants in the fighting awarded the "Defense of Sevastopol" Medal may freely visit the city by showing the medal. An order to introduce appropriate additions to instructions has been issued to all checkpoints. It only remains to solve the matter of the direct sale of rail tickets to veterans direct to Sevastopol. Only the USSR Council of Ministers has the right to alter the existing procedure here.

[Moderator] Judging by the editorial mail, veterans continue to be particularly worried by Armenian problems, too. Above all, matters of military building.

[Silantyev] Both veterans and their candidates. There is food for thought here. Just look, a large reduction in the Armed Forces is planned—the ideas of the new political thinking are being put into practice. Haven't we taken similar steps before? Indeed we have; many of us remember the reduction of the Army by 1.2 million men. But then, you know, after quite a short time, before the ink on the document had dried, so to speak, the Army began to be increased again. What was the premise when they cut and afterward when they reexamined the decision? Who is carrying out the analysis?

We are convinced that in conditions of true democracy such matters can never be solved backstage. The most important decisions connected with our military building should be under constant monitoring by parliament—the Supreme Soviet—in the shape of a relevant standing commission of deputies composed of the most competent specialists in the field. They should prepare proposals in the light of the actual military-political situation: What kind of Army do we need, what arms, how are they to be employed, and what facilities and industrial enterprises are needed for the purpose? Otherwise you won't in fact answer the question of who pushed our Army into Afghanistan. After all, it did not go there of its own accord, did it?

[Sorokin] Unfortunately, it is not just uninformed people who form such an opinion. The other day an international observer was even demanding explanations from the former military leadership on this score. Letters with similar contents are sent to the Ministry of Defense.

[Kulikov] Such a commission is required. We have a lot of lessons and warnings to draw from Afghanistan. As for the introduction of the troops, that is an instructive example. Although only naive or deliberately insincere people could blame the Army for this. Such decisions do not fall within its competence. I well remember the situation, since I was a deputy defense minister. Ustinov arrived around midnight and explained that we would be crossing the border during the night. And that was all. Who took the decision? The leadership—that's one thing I do know. And you know who was leading at that time....

[Moderator] The All-Union Organization of War and Labor Veterans brings together representatives of virtually all professions. That constitutes an enormous pool of experience and knowledge. How do you intend to make use of it in deputies' work?

[Tretyak] You cannot, of course, describe middle age as the peak of a person's active life. But you are right that both knowledge and very valuable life experience are accumulated in middle age. It is the task of deputies to make intelligent use of this asset and tap this potential. Primarily by involving veterans in various kinds of public councils, commissions, and groups. Including those advising people's deputies themselves.

[Yefimov] I think that the union and republic councils of war and labor veterans and the Soviet Committee of War Veterans section have a large role to play here. In general this question should be well studied. There are quite a few top-rate specialists among veterans. And they can be successfully used as consultants for managerial and scientific research bodies and commissions dealing with major national economic problems in the sphere of ecology, the power industry, transport, communications, and the provision of public services and amenities in population centers.

Extensive worker control in the trade sphere is now being developed under the AUCCTU, for example. Why not involve pensioner veterans in this work? It would not take much—appropriate social and legal status needs to be accorded to public veterans' commissions. And here deputies should have their say.

[Maresyev] That is one side. On the other side, the role of veteran deputies themselves should be weighty and significant. I think that our representatives should work actively in the Supreme Soviet commissions, representing the veteran community so as to effectively and professionally defend statewide interests.

[Silantyev] I must add: including those of veterans themselves, too. It cannot be denied that we have quite a few laws and resolutions on benefits. However, their effect is slight to date. Furthermore, to most people they are a real maze which is impenetrable without specialist assistance. That is why at literally all the meetings that I have attended—in Alma-Ata, Frunze, Tashkent, and Ashkhabad—one and the same proposal was voiced. All these documents need to be generalized and a standing commission on veterans' affairs should be established at the USSR Supreme Soviet to coordinate the elaboration of a single all-union law on the basis of the existing rulings.

[Sorokin] And this should really be a law which would clearly regulate questions of medical provision, housing distribution, and the installation of telephones. These problems persist despite a whole series of concrete steps which the party Central Committee and government have taken recently. And so many fine decisions remain unimplemented because of bureaucratic red tape and negligence. You do not have to look far for examples. They have spent 16 years building a hospital for war invalids not out in the countryside but in Moscow, the capital!

[Silantyev] Of course this is a disgrace. As is the fact that in our country there is no clarity over the scale of pensions or how they correlate to the living wage. How can one forget here those 18 million pensioners whose income, as a rule, does not exceed R60 a month, the disabled from the Great Patriotic War, and disabled internationalist servicemen....

[Maresyev] Without the introduction of special indices characterizing people's living standard and their purchasing power it is impossible to effectively combat inflation which, in its overt or covert form, is reaching considerable proportions here and affects everyone's interests. Pensioners first of all, furthermore. Candidate USSR people's deputies from the veteran community have specific proposals on this score in their programs.

[Moderator] Let us talk about young people. Their education in the spirit of socialist ideals and the inculcation in the new generation of firm ideological and moral convictions is a nationwide task. Here, too, there must be changes of approach and methods now. How are these problems being reflected in our pre-election programs?

[Yefimov] Young people are called on to actively develop restructuring, to complete what it has begun, and to go further along the path of socialism. Here, too, there is an indissoluble link between the generations—nothing less than the guarantee of the success of the socialist cause. It must be acknowledged, however, that in recent years our influence on young people has slackened. Why? The main reason, I believe, lies not in them but in us. In our attitude, our omissions, our inability to react flexibly to changes in the situation. For many long years we sought to instill a sense of responsibility in young people without entrusting them with responsible work and while watching over them in all things. But as the people say, orchards do not grow without wind. There must be restructuring here, too.

On the other hand, in some situations we must be utterly principled and consistent. Veterans must consistently speak in defense of socialism's true values. They must persuade and prove to the new generation by argument that previous generations did not live their lives in vain and that our people never bartered their conscience or got rich at the expense of others. Yes, we bore unprecedented sacrifices, but even despite them our country managed to become a great power. Is that not evidence of the strength and viability of our system?

[Tretyak] There is an apt poetic metaphor which runs: Youth looks through haze, experience sees through smoke. Who, if not we, should assume concern for young people, help them, and warn them in good time against the maximalism and nihilism of youth? Who is to prevent young people coming into conflict with their fathers and grandfathers and prevent indifference and complacency from being sown in their hearts? Let us not hide the fact that there have been such attempts. And they are far from harmless.

[Moderator] Does it not seem to you that the solution of these matters is being hampered by the fact that even among veterans some people try to sow the seeds of national dissension? We find examples of that in Estonia, for instance.

[Sorokin] Unfortunately, such incidents occur not only in Estonia. We see them in Lithuania, too. This is a shameful phenomenon and it is justly condemned in the broad community of veterans. Who, if not we people with great life experience who have more than once felt the strength of the friendship of our peoples, should now rise up in its defense and show by concrete examples the result of national alienation.

[Maresyev] Of course, work with young people must be made more active, interesting, and up to date. Unfortunately, even today we sometimes reduce military-patriotic work to noisy parades and reminiscences about our combat past. There must be new forms, new approaches, and joint actions involving young people and veterans. I read with great interest the materials of the Fourth Komsomol Central Committee Plenum. I think that there are quite a few new ideas here. The creation of military-patriotic associations, specific concern for the needs of internationalist servicemen, invalids, the families of those who have died—this is the area where we will easily find a common language and be able to pool our efforts.

[Sorokin] In view of the awakening of public interest in the events of the post-October period and of military history it is necessary to seek nontraditional approaches and to go ourselves into young people's forums and be prepared for a polemic and for discussions. I believe that the experience of veterans V. Sychev, K. Kozlov, and A. Tyulenin is interesting in this respect. They meet with senior high school students at Kaliningrad's No 16 school, know how to find a common language with them, and challenge them to open dialogue.

[Moderator] The press today often carries criticism of the Armed Forces. Many of those criticisms are, to be blunt, objective and fair. However, you also hear people suggesting that young people should be shielded from military service altogether. What are your thoughts about this?

[Tretyak] There is no question that during the years of stagnation our Armed Forces tired of waiting for an honest and frank discussion of our problems. It has now begun. No one denies the usefulness of criticism. But it should be constructive and amicable. It is essential that it be well informed. They propose all sorts of things: Let us create a professional army, they say, and solve all our problems at a stroke. But what will that cost the budget? The Army cannot be abolished and turned into militia formations: The world has not changed yet; it is only beginning to change. Only the first steps have been taken, as M.S. Gorbachev noted in his UN address. Quite recently the new U.S. president, announcing his "Building a Better America" plan in Congress, among other things rated highly the measures taken in the past decade to build up America's military might. He also reaffirmed the course of reinforcing the U.S. position in the world from a stance of military strength and deterrence. Thus safeguarding security, as the USSR Constitution says, is the most important function of the state and the cause of all the people.

The need to base ourselves on our real potential is a different matter. But that is the very aim of the policy of rational sufficiency for defense and the course of achieving qualitative parameters in the sphere of our military building. All candidate USSR people's deputies from the All-Union Organization of War and Labor Veterans wholeheartedly support that.

Latvian Official Discusses Call-Up Difficulties
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[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1015 GMT on 11 March carries as part of its "I Serve the Soviet Union" program a 9-minute report from Riga by Colonel (Valdis Vyacheslavevich Tener), chief of the Political Department of the Latvian Republic's Military Commissariat. He begins by saying that things were better last spring in his district during the military call-up period. There is more openness in the activity of military commissariats and call-up commissions, and this has improved morale among conscripts and their parents. However, there are still problems. "Last autumn we ran into the problem of the geography of call-ups. What can I say? Up to 20 percent of our conscripts remained within the boundaries of the Baltic Military District. About one in four were sent for service in a group of troops abroad. One out of every two people called up is today serving in the infantry. Today, just as in the autumn, a number of informal youth associations are raising the matter of all those being called up, including those called up in the republic, doing their service here in Latvia, or at least in the district. Lieutenant-General Kuzmin, commander of the troops of the Baltic Military District, has proposed in his election platform that this matter be decided by increasing the percentage of those serving in the district to 30 percent. I think that will satisfy our conscripts."

Colonel (Nikolay Yermilov), Moscow military deputy commissar, says that it is possible to make arrangements for conscripts to serve nearer home, but he fears that there might be more breaches of discipline as a result. (Tener) says that he agreed with this but there are special Lett regiments where more Latvian recruits could serve.

Asked if there are other problems in the Latvian Republic, (Tener) says: "The ideological situation which has come about in the republic has today influenced the thinking of a certain proportion of draftees in that they take a negative attitude toward their forthcoming military service." The participants in the discussion then went on to say that trips are being arranged to military units, and visits by parents to units are being permitted.

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